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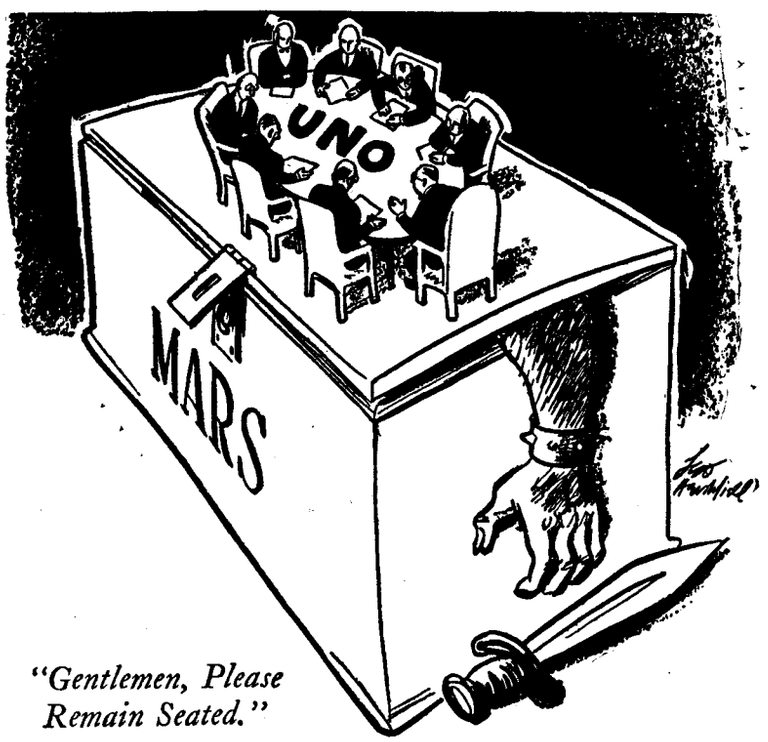

"Gentlemen, Please Remain Seated."

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Stalin's Speech

VISITORS IN THE USSR before the war were startled by the ideas held by Soviet citizens about the rest of the world. These citizens showed a thrilling interest in world affairs, and a profound misunderstanding of existing conditions. Eager children in the schools would ask: When are the starving masses of Britain and America going to rise against the exploiters?

The consumption standards of the Soviet people were held down in these years by a rate of forced industrialization in the USSR far greater than any experienced under capitalism. These low standards in the workers' motherland were defended by a false analysis of standards in capitalist countries, and by a true analysis of the danger of war, and the necessity of rapid industrialization in the USSR as a measure of self-defense.

During the war the Communist Party increased many times in size. Young party members, in the Red Army, advanced though conquered feudal and semi-fascist countries. In these workers' "hells," they found consumption standards above their own. They understood that poverty for themselves had been the necessary price for survival during a fascist threat. But after the defeat of fascism at a tremendous cost and the demonstration of Soviet power, they felt that higher standards of life, stores filled with razors, shoes, clothes, stoves, should be the reward.

During the USSR election, the Soviet government has made it clear that the danger of war is far from over, and that in the next Five-Year Plan, the Soviet people will be called on to make a further tremendous effort to rebuild Soviet heavy industry, at the cost of a further postponement of increased standards of consumption.

Premier Stalin's speech, which will be discussed and memorized at thousands of Red Banner Clubs in the USSR and in Communist circles throughout the world, is largely a defense of the forced industrialization policy before the war as a necessary part of wartime victory.

Stalin asks for a verdict on this policy, largely in order to renew it for the next five years. He made a strong bid for support of the champions of higher consumption standards when he said: "In the very near future the rationing system will be abolished, special attention will be focused on expanding the production of goods for mass consumption, on raising the standard of life of the working people. . . ." From Moscow, Brooks Atkinson reports in the New York *Times* that it was the announcement of the abolition of rationing that drew the greatest applause during the speech. Yet another section of the speech attacked capitalist systems in which priority is given to investment in light industries, and the goal of the Five-Year Plan, in which heavy industry, devastated by the German occupation, is to be made three times as large as in the prewar years, makes almost inconceivable any rapid advance in Soviet light industries and in consumption standards.

We understand the necessity for this program. If it had not been for the industrialization of the USSR, we might have lost this war. The sacrifices made by

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the Soviet people were made for all of us, and we should be forever grateful to them. Yet there is a danger that this new program may require creating again, among the friendly peoples of the USSR, a political atmosphere of distrust and fear of other nations in order to justify large-scale rearmament and the building of armament industries. A large part of Stalin's speech is devoted to demanding a great Red Army, to proving that capitalism was the cause of this war and that under capitalism, war is inevitable. Other candidates in the elections went much further. "We are still within the capitalist encirclement," said Lazar Kaganovich, ". . . we must strengthen Bolshevik vigilance." "It is no secret that our friends respect us because we are strong," said G. M. Malenkov, Secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee. "Our friends will respect us so long as we remain powerful . . . That's why we must . . . strengthen the glorious Red Army." Certainly the violent charges made by A. Y. Vishinsky at London, and the equally violent counter-charges they provoked, have served to perpetuate this sense of distrust and fear.

We accept Premier Stalin's condemnation of monopoly capitalism, but it must not lead to a fatalist attitude toward war. We understand the reasoning of Kaganovich and Malenkov, yet both Britain and America have already disarmed to the point at which we barely have functioning air forces, and our occupation forces are dangerously small. Neither country has accepted postwar conscription, and in both, there is a deep yearning for peace. It would be tragic if this yearning were not given full expression in the world policies of all nations.

One reason for forced industrialization within the USSR is the fact that Russia must finance this industrialization out of her own depleted resources. A large-scale loan from America now would permit the rapid raising of consumption standards and the expansion of heavy industry in the USSR at the same time. It would demonstrate our good faith, it would help maintain prosperity in this country and it should lead to the broad cultural and social interchange between our peoples that is vital to continuing peace. In the absence of any public support, Congress has pared down a prospective loan to the USSR from $6 billion to $1 billion. The present bitter opposition to the British loan may well convince Russia that it is useless to approach us, since this would set in motion a new wave of wild and slanderous attacks on her in the old America First press.

With unanswerable logic, Stalin has argued that stability in capitalist countries is a pre-condition of peace. We continue to publish the *New Republic*, and to believe in the New Deal, because we believe that this stability can be achieved under democracy and short of immediate socialism. If it cannot, the outlook for peace is dark. For this reason, every part of the struggle for a permanent FEPC, for a 65-cent-minimum wage, for a real full-employment bill, for broadened social security, for a full life in America, is part of the struggle for peace.

Bowles v. Inflation

Probably no man in Washington is entitled to greater public respect than Price Administrator Chester Bowles. Now it appears likely that he has accomplished what few others had dared attempt, the unseating of Reconversion Director John Snyder. A main trouble with our wage-price policy, or lack of it, since Truman assumed office, has been Snyder. The OPA has had to fight Snyder's office sometimes more fiercely than it has the special interests seeking their own advantage at the cost of holding the price line. The U. S. Steel case only climaxed a series of issues. Snyder favored much more substantial price increases to the steel companies than Bowles would agree were merited, and he accused Bowles of intolerable "inflexibility" in his policies. When there appeared no other way out, Bowles submitted a courageous letter of resignation, forcing the President to choose between him and Snyder. Secretaries Byrnes and Vinson and Bernard Baruch counseled the President to follow Bowles's advice. And that seems to be what will happen, slowly if not in open, clear-cut fashion.

The Housing Emergency

Housing Expediter Wilson W. Wyatt has already more than justified the confidence which the *New Republic* and others expressed in him when he took on the housing problem five weeks ago. The plan which he has produced and which the President has approved is sufficiently bold and comprehensive to meet much of our need. In it he has combined the best parts of the many suggestions made to date and has added some new ideas of his own.

Wyatt's program calls for 2,700,000 new houses in 1946 and 1947, with 1,200,000 to be started this year instead of the 500,000 that had been the goal before. Sale prices will be mostly $6,000 and under, with rentals at $50 per month or less, with preference to veterans in all cases. Wyatt would have broad powers to get the job done. The construction labor force would be tripled. Closed war plants and new plants would be subsidized where necessary to stimulate production of eight times more building materials than were produced in 1945. There would be price ceilings on old and new houses, strengthened price controls on materials, continued rent control, and mortgage insurance up to 90 percent on low-cost homes. Wyatt will need prompt coöperation from Congress, an appropriation of almost a billion dollars for federal subsidies and half a billion for mortgage insurance.

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Anti-Labor Drive

The now familiar coalition of Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans has forced the NAM's labor program through the House. One hundred and nine Democrats and 149 Republicans combined to pass the Case bill, which rejects President Truman's fact-finding proposal and calls for such things as outlawing mass picketing, and revision or nullification of the Norris-LaGuardia (anti-injunction) and Wagner Acts. The terms of the Case bill are almost identical with the program for "industrial peace" proposed by Ira Mosher, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, and seconded before the Senate Labor Committee the other day by Charles E. Wilson of General Electric and W. Gibson Carey of Yale and Towne. Mr. Wilson has admitted to the Senate committee that he met with representatives of steel, auto, electric and packinghouse industries at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City about a month ago to discuss their common strike problems, but he denies that there was any collusion or conspiracy aimed at unions. The Senate Education and Labor Committee does not intend to be rushed into the sort of hasty action which was permitted in the House. Hearings on the bill have been extended, and the expectation is that a much less vicious form will be reported out to the full Senate.

The Senate Surrenders

One of the most disgraceful exhibitions of congressional reaction has come to a close with a complete victory for the Senate filibusterers. Progressives must chalk up a major defeat. Minority elements in the nation have a right to feel wronged, excluded from full citizenship. The success of the filibuster means that not only is the FEPC buried in the same pigeonhole with anti-poll-tax legislation, but Southern Democrats now will not hesitate to wield this strong weapon at any other opportunity.

One consolation is the collapse of Republican strategy to attract the Negro vote by paying lip-service to the FEPC. At the same time that Representative Clare Luce was extolling Republican love for the Negro and attacking the filibuster, at a Lincoln Day dinner, Senate Minority Leader Wallace White of Maine denounced the FEPC and came out against cloture. Seven other GOP'ers followed him when the time came to vote.

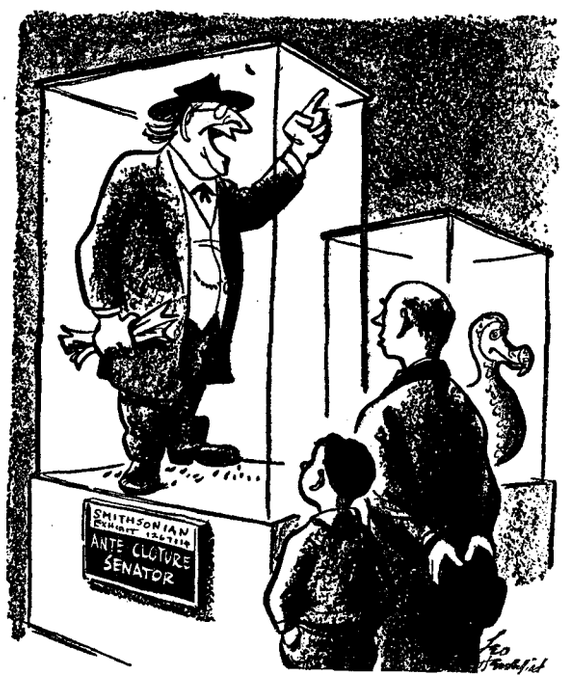
A New Gravy Train

Corporation tax attorneys, led by Ellsworth Alvord, Chamber of Commerce of the United States tax specialist, are urging the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, of which Senator George is chairman, to even greater generosity in returning excess-profits taxes the big corporations paid during the war. What they are asking now, in addition to the flat refund of 10 percent already authorized, is a more liberal interpretation of Section 722 of the Internal Revenue Code, which provides tax relief for corporations able to prove that their profits in the 1936-39 base period were abnormally low. Some corporations are trying also to push through a new review procedure to make the government assume the burden of *dis*proving corporation claims for tax refunds; at present the corporations must prove that they have refunds coming to them.

Large amounts of tax income are at stake. A recent study by the Internal Revenue Bureau estimates that one group of 89 corporations may claim $925 million of refunds. It is up to Secretary of the Treasury Vinson to protect the taxpaying public from the added burden they will have to meet if taxes are returned to these corporations.

The CIO Is Frank

Labor-baiters are fond of demanding that unions should be incorporated and forced to publish an annual statement of their receipts and disbursements. But no labor-baiter ever mentions the fact that in CIO unions publication of all pertinent data is standard procedure. The CIO the other day summarized in one document the facts already available in individual union headquarters. Thirty-two out of thirty-six unions make their financial reports available to anybody; of the other four, two say the facts are published "for



"There, my son, is the Senator with the record for filibustering, back in the days when they could hold up important legislation by merely talking."

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members," one "at convention" and one "for locals." In nearly all cases the audits are by certified public accountant.

Only four union officials get salaries as high as $10,000; 24 unions pay $6,000 or less; in wage negotiations with any important firm, it is usually a $6,000 or $8,000 man speaking for the unions, against a $300,000 or $350,000 man for the management.

In most cases, initiation is less than $5 and dues are $1.50 or less. Special assessments are limited to $2 yearly or less, or are forbidden without a convention or membership referendum. Thirty-five of the thirty-six CIO unions firmly forbid discrimination because of race, creed or color; one union—that of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association—leaves the question to the discretion of its locals.

We don't doubt that there are some unions outside the CIO which would also score high on this test. We don't doubt, either, that the labor-baiters will ignore these findings, and will continue to talk about huge trade-union salaries, big initiation fees and gigantic secret funds.

Telegrams Accepted

The strike of Western Union operators in New York City having been ended, the *New Republic* is glad to announce that it will again accept telegrams sent in the course of normal business.

They Must Not Starve

THE WORLD FOOD SHORTAGE seems to be a fine mixture of misjudgment, delay, callousness, wishful thinking and, for good measure, a few acts of God.

Stirred well, they mean that much of the world is so near starvation that the United States has been asked, by the President, to make a few sacrifices. Americans will have to eat darker bread (so that more of the wheat kernel can be turned into flour), they'll get fewer pastries, less breakfast cereal, maybe less whisky and beer, and we may have to go back to meat rationing for a while.

But this situation also means much more. It means the first test of the nation's maturity—the maturity it will need if it hopes to hold the world leadership which circumstance has dumped into its lap.

The first complaint about too little toast on the American breakfast table, about eating fish instead of steak, is going to sound strangely naïve to the hungry people of the world, most of whom, remember, were in the war like ourselves.

Right now the United States is in a fine position to develop all the old pleasurable ills of over-indulgence: paunches, alcoholism, gout and arthritis. But it wasn't just the desire on our part to preserve these particular freedoms which brought about the food crisis which now threatens. The trouble lies largely on the negative side of misjudgment and delay.

It begins with the first meeting of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, at Atlantic City, in November, 1943. Then the delegates were complacent about having enough cereals to prevent downright hunger, once the war ended. They were worried instead about proteins, fats, oils, sugar, which in fact are still short. The confidence over cereals continued through the second UNRRA conference at Montreal in November, 1944.

Then the fortunes of war began to foreshorten the picture. In August, 1945, the combined food boards said there would be plenty of cereals, but there might be a problem of mechanics: transportation, handling, milling. So the boards removed the allocations machinery from the international trade in wheat, but continued to supervise its movements.

A month later the UNRRA Council met in London, and found cause for worry. Sharp increases in requests for food were coming in from both Europe and North Africa. Australia, one of the big wheat-producing nations, had no carry-over to ship because of drouths the two previous years.

UNRRA suggested—and that's all UNRRA can do since it is a coöperative enterprise of the nations—that wheat should no longer be fed to livestock, because human beings were going to need it badly. Now, nearly four months later, President Truman has finally requested a cut in the wheat used as livestock feed.

In November last, both Poland and Czechoslovakia caused minor shocks by asking for more wheat: Czechoslovakia wanted 200,000 tons more, and Poland about the same. In December, the combined food boards learned that the stocks of rice which had been reported in Indo-China and Burma, and about which there had been so much complacent talk, just weren't there. India and China, without rice supplies, asked for other cereals.

Acts of God also took their toll. The Mediterranean basin, this year, had a short crop for many reasons. In Greece, Italy, North Africa and Yugoslavia, there was a shortage of manpower, a lack of fertilizers—which mean more than they do here—and a lack of equipment including, especially, horses.

Argentina also has trouble. She has wheat in the interior, but lacks coal for the locomotives that might haul it to ports. The United States, ignoring ideologies for the moment, now is rushing her some coal, and some tires for trucks.

Isolationist voices are already being raised against "the U. S. playing Santa Claus again." The fact is that our sacrifices today do not begin to compare with those of others who have vastly less to share. Canada has long foreseen the trouble. She didn't have much

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rationing through the war, but shortly after it ended, she slapped rationing on meat in order to rush more to Europe. Australia, which depends on export of meat for her living, and has had to feed wheat to livestock, is nicking five million tons from that supply in order to send wheat to the hunger areas.

As for the British, most Americans do not seem to realize that even before the announcement by Sir Ben Smith the other day, British food rations were lower than they had been at any time during the war. Now they will go lower still: no more powdered eggs, back to the gray loaf of bread, a drastic reduction in bacon, poultry and eggs. It is a grim picture, made grimmer still for the British as they read of American abundance, the fact that even with the new rationing we shall still have more food than is good for us, taking the nation as a whole, and by far the highest allotment anywhere in the world.

Millions of people in Europe and Asia have already suffered deep deprivation; some of them have died because of it. It is for Americans now to do their part to minimize future suffering on a vastly greater scale. President Truman's proposal represents the minimum that we can perform and ever look ourselves in the face again.

Truman's Poor Choices

OF ALL the disappointing aspects of President Truman's administration, none stands out more sharply than his choice of appointees for high office. Early habits clearly are not easy for Harry Truman to shake, and personal and political loyalty still remain the prime tests of fitness for office as they were during his days as a Pendergast county judge in Kansas City.

The procession of Missourians who moved into top spots following Truman's inauguration amazed and amused Washington for the first few months until the serious consequences of those appointments became generally apparent. John Snyder, it became clear, was not just a well meaning old Army buddy of the President's, but a slow-witted, conservative banker who did not believe in some of the most important parts of the reconversion program he was supposed to direct. Caskie Collet was not knowing enough or strong enough to make his Office of Economic Stabilization into a good right arm for Snyder. The palace guard of Missouri veterans wasn't good for much except to embarrass the President when one of its members spoke out of turn in public.

But these examples of bad judgment faded into the background, temporarily at least, when the President nominated two of his closest political cronies, Ed Pauley and George Allen, to jobs for which they were obviously unfit. The resulting struggle and the outcome of this action definitely show the need for much greater public vigilance with regard to Truman appointments in the future.

Edwin W. Pauley, California oil millionaire, has had political ambitions for some years now. He has worked hard raising campaign funds for the Democratic National Committee ever since 1940, in order to ingratiate himself with Ed Flynn and later Bob Hannegan, with Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

Largely as a result of Pauley's efforts, the Democratic National Committee was in better financial shape after the 1944 campaign than it had been at any time since 1932. Roosevelt appreciated that, and so did Truman—and the new President showed it in quite a different way from Roosevelt's. First Pauley was given ambassadorial status as United States Reparations Commissioner, and finally he was proposed for Undersecretary of the Navy, just a step below the cabinet position for which he yearned.

The Democrats in the Senate were quick to sense the public opposition to such flagrant abuse of the appointive power, and most of those who come up for reëlection in 1946 are resentful of this added burden the President has placed on them in the coming races.

While liberals were protesting against Pauley's nomination, George Allen, the President's jokester and the big corporations' friend, was in process of being confirmed, without vigorous protest, as a director of the powerful Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Senator Tobey could not be in two places at once, and no other Senator was willing to lead the kind of rough fight required to lick Allen. It was probably more important to defeat Allen than Pauley, if a choice could have been made. The President is supposed to want Allen for chairman of the RFC; that would give him vast powers over the $15-billion resources of that agency, resources vital to stabilization of our economy.

Allen told the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency that he intends to keep most of the 13 major directorships he now holds, including most of the companies in Victor Emanuel's financial empire. Observers waited in vain for the committee to ask Allen some of the questions about the policies he would pursue that were asked Henry Wallace just a year ago when he was up for approval for a similar job.

There is no sign that President Truman regrets anything about his nomination of Pauley and Allen except that they did not go through without opposition. Both had served his political interests loyally, and he paid off in kind. Whatever his merits then, it is now clear that we cannot expect him to show a big-league batting average on appointments. It is up to the public to keep him in line. That means that every Senator must be alerted, every future nominee for high office carefully eyed.

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Is It Full Employment?

SELDOM HAVE there been so many conflicting reports on the meaning of newly enacted legislation as is the case with the Full-Employment Act of 1946. It is imperative, therefore, that progressives make a careful analysis of the virtues and defects of this legislation, understand the campaign being conducted against it and develop a strategy of utilizing the new law to the fullest in the impending battles for an economy of sustained full employment.

In so far as words are concerned, the Administration has suffered a defeat on this legislation. The term "full employment," the language on "assuring" full employment, the specific commitment to spend what might be needed—these and other dramatic parts of the original bill were sacrificed. But with respect to substance, the Administration has at last wrested a legislative victory.

In place of the term "full employment," the Act uses the accepted definition of full employment, taken directly from the original measure: "Conditions under which there are employment opportunities, including self-employment, for all who are able, willing and seeking to work." In place of the term "assure," the federal government's responsibility is described in terms of "creating and maintaining" conditions of full employment. Instead of the commitment to spend what might be needed, the Act commits the federal government to "utilize all its resources" for creating and maintaining full employment.

All in all, the Act's declaration of government responsibility to create and maintain conditions of full employment is historic in its implications. It is much stronger than that in the British White Paper on Employment Policy, goes far beyond the kind of responsibility accepted in the United States before the war, and represents much more than most of the Act's sponsors felt would ever be accepted by this session of Congress.

The provisions of the Act calling for a National Production and Employment Budget are as strong as before. The only change won by the House Conferees was to have the term "Economic Report" substituted for "National Production and Employment Budget."

While neither the original bill nor the Senate version provided any new planning apparatus, the final legislation contains an improved form of the House proposal for a Council of Economic Advisers. This would be composed of three outstanding experts, to be paid $15,000 a year and to be given a small staff of top policy assistants.

As in the original bill, a Joint Congressional Committee is set up to analyze the President's over-all program and report thereon to Congress.

The attack on this legislation has already started. The Southern Democratic Representatives Manasco and Whittington, and the Republican brain-truster, Senator Taft, under the familiar "unholy alliance" are trying to convince the general public that since the terms "full employment" and "assure" have been eliminated, the substance that lay behind those words is also dead. In this, they are being ably aided by the daily press, which, with only a few exceptions, failed to report the full and objective analyses of the bill which were presented in the Senate and the House by Senator Murray and Representatives Patman and Cochran.

That the majority of Congress is basically opposed to the principles of the Full-Employment Act is evidenced by the fact that the Administration leadership in the House deliberately shied away from a full explanation of the bill—for fear that the House would reject the Conference report. In passing this law, Congress is now in the position of a man who contrives to pay off a debt by using a check drawn against a bank where he never had an account and never intends to open one.

It is encouraging to note that the many progressive organizations which have been campaigning for a Full-Employment Act during the past year have already met to formulate strategy. The first step has been to emphasize to President Truman that he must appoint honest-to-goodness progressives to the Council of Economic Advisers, and must have congressional friends of full employment selected as members of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report.

But the appointments are only the first step. It is also essential that the Administration interpret the Act courageously, set its sights toward the kind of full-employment program described in Senator Murray's article, "A Plan for America" (the *New Republic*, January 21), and organize itself to fight for the continued safety of the program both in the Halls of Congress and at the polls this November.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Big Bull Market

I. The Boom in Stocks

by George Soule

WALL STREET, after years in the shadow, is blossoming again. Brokers mill about the trading posts on the Exchange floor, customers fill their offices, the ticker hums and taps out the good news to speculators all over the country. The business of dealing in securities has no strikes and no price ceilings. Its total transactions in 1945 were in the neighborhood of $15 billion. Stock prices have been going up for four years, and the public is in the market.

The New York Stock Exchange has 1,375 members. It deals in the issues of 1,118 companies, the listed securities of which are valued at more than $200 billion. The price of seats on the Exchange has risen between five and six-fold since 1942. In addition, there is the Curb Exchange and the "over-the-counter" market for unlisted securities.

Similar happy experiences have come many times before to Wall Street. One began in 1919, putting the capstone on the years of business prosperity generated by the First World War. It continued into 1920, and was ended by a sudden crash when the inflated bubble burst. Many people remember the soaring cost of living which followed the last war and the consequent deflation, when commodity prices fell faster and further than ever before in the experience of living men. They remember the unemployment, the bankruptcies and the foreclosed farm mortgages. Knowledge that much the same thing happened to securities is perhaps less vivid. This may be because we had an even worse dose of stock-market prosperity in 1929.

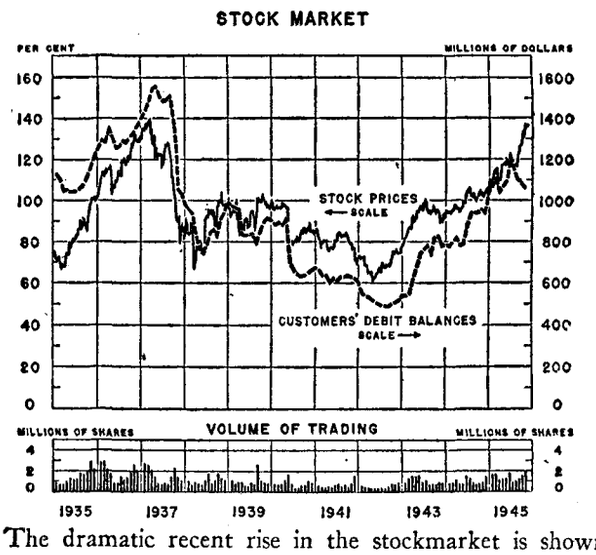
On January 1, 1929, the market had, as at present, been rising almost steadily for four years. The market value of all shares listed on the New York Stock Exchange had increased nearly three-fold, from the $27 billion of January 1, 1925, to about $67.5 billion. By this time the non-professional speculators had really taken the bit in their teeth and raced the market to ever higher levels. New issues of securities during the first ten months of the year totaled $3.3 billion. But in September the decline began with a fall of the Fisher index of prices of industrial stocks from 211 on the seventh to 198 on the thirtieth.

Few authorities foresaw what was to happen. Early in October, public confidence buoyed up the market again, and on the fifteenth Professor Irving Fisher announced that stock prices stood on "what looks like a permanently high plateau." President Charles E. Mitchell of the National City Bank said, "I see no reason for the end-of-the-year slump which some people are predicting." That very day prices fell five or six points a share. They dropped again on the sixteenth. On the nineteenth, although it was a Saturday, the losses were from five to twenty points. On the following Monday, more than six million shares were dumped on the market. On October 23, even the most inactive stocks declined between 40 and 96 points, and the loss in the total value of the stocks exceeded $4 billion. The next day was Black Thursday, when 12,894,650 shares were sold, and prices fell further than in all the history of the Exchange.

Is the same thing going to happen again, and if so, when and how?

Is This Market Different?

One of the greatest elements of danger in the 1929 market was the large volume of margin trading. In the early part of the year, anyone who could put up 25 percent in cash could borrow from his broker the rest of what it cost to buy stocks, pledging the shares as collateral. This meant enormous profits to the speculator



The dramatic recent rise in the stockmarket is shown in the table above, giving the index of prices of 402 common stocks for the past ten years. Table from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*.

This is the first of a series of articles on the present boom in the securities market. The second, to appear in an early issue, will discuss the subject, "Are Stock Prices Too High?" – THE EDITORS

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as long as prices rose rapidly. But the interest paid for the loans was so high that if prices did not rise, losses quickly accumulated. At the end of March, the rates for call loans were 12 percent, and thereafter advanced rapidly to 15, 17 and 20 percent. A few months later, customers were required to put up 50 percent of their purchases in cash and interest rates fell to more modest figures. Nevertheless, so much of the stock was held on borrowed money that during the rise stock prices reflected the credit inflation, and when the fall occurred, most of those who wanted to hold on could not do so, but were sold out. This aggravated the crisis.

One of the subsequent reforms gave the Federal Reserve Board legal authority to regulate margin trading. On February 4, 1945, the Board increased margin requirements from 40 to 50 percent. On July 4, it raised them to 75 percent, which was higher than ever in history. On January 17, 1946, the Board forbade brokers' loans altogether, with the intent of forcing purchasers to pay cash in full.

No doubt the present bull market depends less on bank credit than did the 1929 spree. To this extent there is some insurance against an equally disastrous panic. Nevertheless, stocks have kept on going up since the Board's order. Much of the buying on the part of the public had been of low-priced shares and had not been on a margin basis anyway. The limitation therefore does not affect the small fry. As far as the speculators with larger resources are concerned, it is difficult to enforce. Anyone with securities, real estate or other good collateral can go to his bank and borrow without explanation. He may want money to expand his business or build a house. If he does, he can use the loan for that purpose and release an equal amount of surplus cash for market operations. Even if he does not, the bank has no way of knowing how he uses the money. When abundant credit is available, it would take a dictatorship and a Gestapo to prevent some of it from leaking into Wall Street.

How About the SEC?

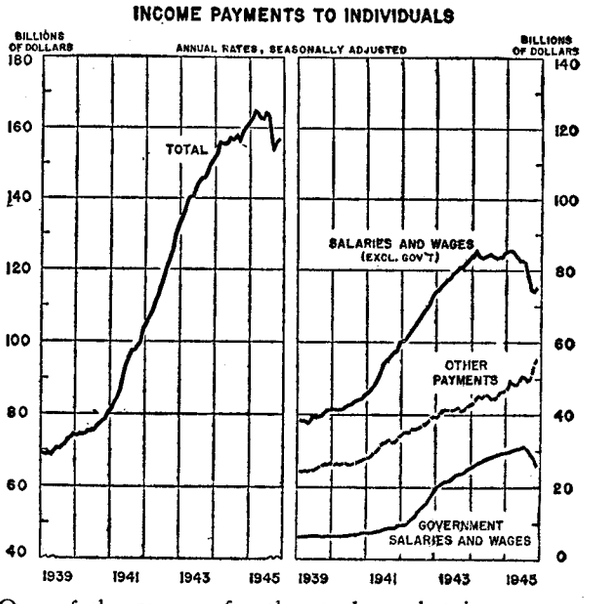
In 1929 we had no Securities and Exchange Commission. This federal agency, formed to protect investors and prevent shady practices in Wall Street, is regarded as a bulwark by many. How great a safeguard does it actually offer in the present situation?

One of its duties is supposed to be to discourage the marketing of worthless securities. No issue of stocks or bonds can be offered for sale until the SEC has passed upon it and permitted its issue. This fact is supposed by the unwary to mean that it is safe to buy any listed securities. As a matter of fact, the SEC has power only to require that the company issuing securities make a full disclosure of relevant facts. It forms no judgment whatever concerning the value and prospects of the securities.

If a company wanted to sell a million dollars' worth of stock representing no tangible assets whatever, but intended to use the money to pay old debts, increase salaries and promote a highly impractical new invention, it would still be allowed to do so provided these facts were freely admitted to the SEC. The facts so ascertained are not advertised by the SEC. It does not warn investors or speculators of their risks. To be sure, its files are freely available to all, but the prospective purchaser who does not have the time or the skill to dig out the information must rely upon the ordinary channels which have always made a business of financial advice.

I have the utmost admiration for Mr. Henry J. Kaiser and I hope his new car will be a success. Nevertheless, it remains true that the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation was allowed to list and sell millions of dollars' worth of stock before it had manufactured a single car or anybody had ever ridden in one. The SEC offers no guarantee whatever that those who seized this highly speculative opportunity will not suffer a total loss.

Another function of the SEC is to prevent artificial manipulation of the market by such devices as pools, wash sales and matched orders. This was a common practice in 1929. It was well known to the outsiders in the market, who often attempted to profit by matching their wits against the skilled market operators. One of the most famous of the pools was that which within a few days gleaned from the public a profit of about $5 million from operation in shares of the Radio Corporation of America. Its intention to drive up this stock was widely advertised, and the outside speculators rushed to buy. These outsiders were not permitted to know, however, that on the fifth day of the manipulated boost



One of the reasons for the stock-market increase, and for the danger of inflation, is vividly shown in the table above, giving income payments to individuals for the past seven years, based on Department of Commerce estimates. Chart from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*.

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the insiders sold out and went short of the market in radio. Radio shares never again touched the high point at which the pool sold its shares.

How are such swindles to be prevented? Partly, it is supposed, by self-discipline of the Stock Exchange itself, which has now promised to be good. The SEC also attempts to detect and prevent manipulation. As its former chairman, W. O. Douglas, once said, "You need a snoop to catch a jiggle." The Commission has a large staff watching the daily sales and prices of more than 3,000 separate securities. Their performance is registered on punch cards so that relevant information may be obtained. Nevertheless, it may take many months to discover illegitimate operations. The damage may be done before the authorities know about it. We should doubtless have more robberies and murders if we did not have a police force. Nevertheless, the police are seldom on the spot when a crime is being committed.

Even outright frauds have been practised since the SEC has been on the job. One particularly raw one which it discovered and stopped was called by its originators the "sell, switch and wipe-out game." A large organization sold stock to customers over the telephone by high-pressure salesmanship. The purchasers paid only 50 percent down, and supposed that their shares were being held as collateral. When their confidence was gained by good performance of the stock sold, the purchasers were persuaded to switch to a single stock which the sellers were manipulating for a rise. This usually was an issue of which only a small number of shares were on the market, and therefore one that could be readily pushed up. When the switching had been completed, the so-called brokerage firm pushed the favored stock down again. The customers were sold out; not a share of stock ever had to be delivered to them. As a matter of fact, the brokers never had bought any shares for them; the 50-percent instalments were pocketed. The salesmen received their bonuses and commissions on the basis of the amount the customers *lost*.

The SEC is supposed to regulate investment trusts, which were also a great scandal of the twenties. Yet it was as late as 1937 that the Continental Securities Corporation collapsed. In June of that year it had a portfolio with a market value of $3,300,000. By October it had gone into receivership and its holdings were valued at $50,000.

No governmental supervision can substitute for the utmost caution on the part of those who risk their money.

Where the Money Comes From

It is no secret where the money that feeds the bull market comes from. It does not, as in 1929, arise mainly from brokers' loans to stock speculators, but its origin and potentialities are no less inflationary. During the war, businesses and individuals received in income about $140 billion which they could not spend. The government was paying out vast sums above the amount it took from the people in taxation. The people could not spend all this money because the amount of consumers' goods and services was limited and prices were controlled. The recipients of the income therefore piled it up in bank deposits, currency and government bonds. All these are called liquid assets, because they can readily be turned into cash. There are still not enough goods to buy, but purchases of stocks are not rationed and prospects of gain are enticing.

The more stocks people buy, the higher the prices go. Nobody has power to regulate what American citizens do with their savings. There is nothing to protect speculators in the market against another boom and crash, except the caution and foresight of the individuals concerned. It is therefore pertinent to inquire whether stocks are already too high and what the future of the market is likely to be. These questions will be discussed in future articles.

France After De Gaulle

by Paul Scott Mowrer

Paris (by radio)

With the resignation of General de Gaulle and the formation of the Gouin government, French politics is back to normal in a kind of stable instability.

The logical French like proportional representation even though they know it makes solid majorities impossible. To politicians the delicate and complicated task of forming temporary majorities out of diverse minority groups is endlessly fascinating.

The conflict between de Gaulle and the party leaders was the old conflict between the legislative and the executive that Americans have seen so often. De Gaulle wanted a strong executive. Party leaders don't. When de Gaulle became convinced that the party leaders intended to reduce him to a mere instrument for carrying out their ideas, he quit. The party leaders, like everyone else in France, respect de Gaulle. They never liked him. The question was who would run things, he or they.

These leaders derive their strength from their party organization. The people vote in France not for men but for parties. De Gaulle's strength, however, came from the people.

Although it is too soon to say, my belief is that by brusquely resigning de Gaulle lost popular favor. "He

Paul Scott Mowrer, one of the best known American foreign correspondents, is now in Paris for the New York Post. *He has been editor of the Chicago* Daily News *and the Paris* Post

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shouldn't have done it," people say. "He let us down." Yet it would be a mistake to underestimate even his present popularity.

There seem to be two ways in which he might make a comeback. If the Gouin government fails, he might be recalled by common consent on his own terms, or if the Assembly presents at the popular referendum a constitution in which the powers of the executive have been emasculated, he might actively enter the political field and lead the fight for constitutional amendment.

OVER THREE-FOURTHS of the Assembly is made up of three political parties almost equal in strength. The Communists are the most numerous and the most aggressive, but they are not strong enough to do anything alone. They have been steadfastly anti-de Gaulle. The Popular Republicans, who are mostly liberal Catholics, are anti-Communist and pro-de Gaulle. Between them are the Socialists, who do not care to be exclusively associated with either party.

It was when the Socialists, who had vigorously supported de Gaulle, turned against him that he stepped out. France's three-party coalition was described recently by the French newspaper *Combat* as a type of triangle hard to break and impossible to maintain. There is truth in this. The role of holding this ill assorted triangle together, which was de Gaulle's, has now been assumed by the Socialists. Gouin, Vincent Auriol, the new chairman of the Assembly, Léon Blum, who is to go and ask help for France from the Allies—meaning mainly us—are all Socialists, and Socialists have most of the ministries in the new cabinet. This spring, when the new constitution is ready, there are to be new elections. The parties are thinking of little else. Each hopes to gain and is maneuvering accordingly.

It is easy for foreigners to sneer at de Gaulle's foreign policy, but from the French point of view it has been successful. Against terrific odds he held the empire together and restored France to the position of a world power. French criticism of him was mainly based on domestic affairs.

On resigning he told the people that all was now well. The implication was that if in a few months all was not well it would not be his fault. The party leaders promptly retaliated by announcing that de Gaulle had left France in dire financial straits. Actually nothing has changed and nothing is known now that was not known before—when, of course, the same parties and many of the same ministers were in office.

Financially France was and is in difficulties. After defeat, occupation, pillage and devastation, anything else would be astonishing. The current deficit in a budget of 600 billion francs is around 300 billion. As lack of confidence makes domestic borrowing impossible, deficits are being met by printing bank-notes. Gouin proposes to balance the budget by cutting the army in half and reducing the number of government employees, which has increased from 700,000 before the war to more than two million at present. This is easily done on paper. But already he is meeting opposition, and will meet more.

THE FACT IS, France's main difficulties are economic. The people think they want a managed economy, something halfway between the Russian and American systems. Actually, this means they want government help when they need it and want to be let alone the rest of the time. The nation's faltering economic life is so snarled up in red tape that it is impossible to tell how far present shortages are real and how far artificial. One main idea has been to export everything possible in order to get foreign exchange and make the people wait for consumer goods until French industry is fully reëquipped. The row over reducing the army was really over whether the steel and clothing industries shall work principally for the military or for civilians. Now the civilians will get more. This seems to be a sensible decision, especially just before elections.

In my opinion, France can make a fairly rapid recovery and it is to America's interest to help her. Indeed, this recovery has definitely begun. The obstacle is too much regulation; that is, too much politics; that is, I suppose, too much human nature.

Carnations

Pale blossoms, each balanced on a single jointed stem,
The leaves curled back in elaborate Corinthian scrolls;
And the air cool, as if drifting down from wet hemlocks,
Or rising out of ferns not far from water,
A crisp hyacinthine coolness,
Like that clear autumnal weather of eternity,
The windless perpetual morning above a September cloud.

Moss-Gathering

To loosen with all ten fingers held wide and limber
And lift up a patch, dark-green, the kind for lining
cemetery baskets,
Thick and cushiony, like an old-fashioned doormat,
The crumbling small hollow sticks on the underside
mixed with roots,
And wintergreen berries and leaves still stuck to the top—
That was moss-gathering.
But something always went out of me when I dug
loose those carpets
Of green, or plunged to my elbows in the spongy
yellowish moss of the marshes;
And afterward I always felt mean, jogging back over
the logging road,
As if I had broken the natural order of things in that
swamp land;
Disturbed some rhythm, old and of vast importance,
By pulling off flesh from the living planet;
As if I had committed, against the whole scheme of life,
a desecration.

THEODORE ROETHKE

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39 Economists Against Inflation

by Potomacus

THE ECONOMISTS of this country are badly worried about the immediate danger of inflation. They favor continuation of price control, and many of them advocate strong and integrated action on a broadened front to check inflationary pressures.

These opinions are indicated positively in messages to the *New Republic*, received February 5, 6 and 7, in response to a telegram sent from the Washington office of this magazine on February 4, addressed to 49 university and business economists and groups of economists. Twenty-six replies, signed by 43 economists, were received within three days.

The *New Republic* asked the economists to indicate "whether you feel price control should be continued and strengthened in order to minimize danger of inflation. Whether answer favorable or unfavorable, do you advise additional steps against inflation, and if so, what?"

All the first replies disclosed that these men felt the problem was of great urgency. Thirty-nine of the 43 said that the Price Control Act, which expires June 30, should be extended without delay. Three said no, and one gave an equivocal answer. Of the 39, one qualified his answer by recommending strong price control on basic raw materials and wholesale commodities, with some relaxation on finished products. Four suggested improvements in administration of the extended Act, such as achieving a better balance among price ceilings, permitting some rise in the general price level and not holding business too closely to 1936-39 profit levels.

On the other hand, 29 of those who recommended price-control extension said it should be strengthened. Two suggested the necessity of extending control to cover the sale price of houses, which is specifically exempted from the present Act. Two others emphasized that there must be no crippling amendments or impairment of the powers of the Office of Price Administration. Although they were not asked for how long the Act should be renewed, four suggested a full year's extension. Five others thought control would be necessary until there is a reasonably good balance between production and demand.

Of the three who thought price control should be discontinued, one stated his belief that any effort to maintain a controlled economy is self-defeating; he would stop further monetization of the debt and, in unspecified ways, "bring all possible production into force." Another opponent suggested the necessity of eleven other controls which, if instituted, would make price control practically unnecessary. The third thought that the administration's abandonment of other controls has made price control impossible.

Responding to the second part of the question, all but four of the 43 economists suggested other controls to combat inflation. Twenty-two proposed wage adjustments or controls, while 10 suggested measures for avoiding work stoppages through industrial disputes; the chief concern on this point appeared to be the achievement of a balance between wages and prices. Twenty-eight would maintain at least the present tax rates; ten of these advocated steeper taxes or additional taxes. Twenty-six suggested various means to reduce bank credit and the amount of money in circulation, or proposed other monetary and credit controls. Twenty-one favored reinstatement of priorities and allocations of essential materials, particularly building materials.

Space prevents publication here of all the telegrams, but the sampling that follows is fairly representative.

DR. I. L. SHARFMAN of the University of Michigan, just retired as president of the American Economics Association, said:

Continuation and strengthening of price control are indispensable if movement of inflation is to be checked. Authority should be extended for not less than twelve months with least possible delay to remove motive for withholding goods from market and for intensifying demand in expectation of further price increases. Controls should be exercised firmly in each important sphere until adequate flow of goods is attained. Most urgent additional need is to adjust labor disputes to eliminate actual or threatened work stoppages. Full production under genuinely competitive conditions and supplemented by intelligent monetary and fiscal policies constitutes the basic safeguard against inflation.

Dr. Frank D. Graham of Princeton University:

In the absence of strong price controls while we catch up on production of civilian goods, prices will tend to rise out of all proportion to costs. This will do nothing but give swollen profits to business at the expense of consumers. Controls should not be so stringent as to prevent production, but by the same token we need official resistance to wage-rate increases at this time. Checking inflation calls for maintenance of existing wage rates coupled with full production. While profits pile up, ceiling prices on the goods involved should be lowered.

Dr. Sumner Slichter of Harvard University:

I believe that price controls should be continued after June 30, 1946, until business enterprises are in a position to

Potomacus is an office pseudonym.

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assume responsibility for preventing a disorderly rise in prices. Arrangements for correcting serious lack of balance in price ceilings need to be made more effective. Many concerns find their output limited because of inability to obtain parts or raw materials which are produced in limited amounts only because of the lack of balance in price ceilings. Some firms could sell for less if they were allowed to pay more for necessary parts or materials. The problem in a rough way is analogous to the problem of intra-plant wage inequities formerly faced by the National War Labor Board.

General Leonard P. Ayres of the Cleveland Trust Trust Company:

Attempted controls over commodity prices cannot be made effective unless they are accompanied by controls over wages and over the allocation of key materials. Since the Administration has abandoned its controls over wages and materials, and cannot now reassume them, it should abandon its futile attempt to continue price controls. If that should be done, the volume of production would rapidly increase instead of shrinking as it is now doing largely as the result of continuing attempts at price and profit controls.

An economist for a big New York bank, who asked that his name be withheld, said: "Strongly favor unimpaired price control. . . . Also favor controls on sale price of new and old houses and other buildings. Recommend special capital-gains tax and no tax reductions. Advise tightening controls to prevent further increase in bank credit. Also rapid use of federal cash balance to reduce debt held by banks."

Dr. J. J. Spengler of Duke University:

Present situation three times as serious as 1918 when credit inflation facilitated postwar inflation. Present actual and immediately potential money supply can permit trebling of prices despite maximum possible production increase. Rid Truman's official family of inflationists. Support Bowles unreservedly. Raise through taxation more than is expended. Sponge up about fifty unneeded billions through stabilization loan drives. Impound proceeds and disburse as annual interest, thus sustaining future purchasing power. Rigorously curtail bank credit extension. Control all prices and costs. Reinforce with priorities. Congressional failure to act along these lines will destroy much of value of veterans' benefits, insurance, war bonds and savings, and prepare way for fascism. But given the above monetary and fiscal policies we can remove price controls in two or three years.

Dr. Alvin H. Hansen of Harvard University said: "A continuation of price controls is most urgently needed. Without it, I feel that we are in very serious danger. An extension of the control now would itself have a stabilizing effect."

Dr. A. B. Wolfe of Ohio State University, former American Economics Association president, believes OPA powers should be increased if politically possible as "it is the only agency which can or will save us from disastrous inflation." He suggested government take over plants in which labor and management refuse to start production on the basis of the Administration's current proposals, and stated that "at present any general increase in either prices or wages is bound to start the inflationary spiral."

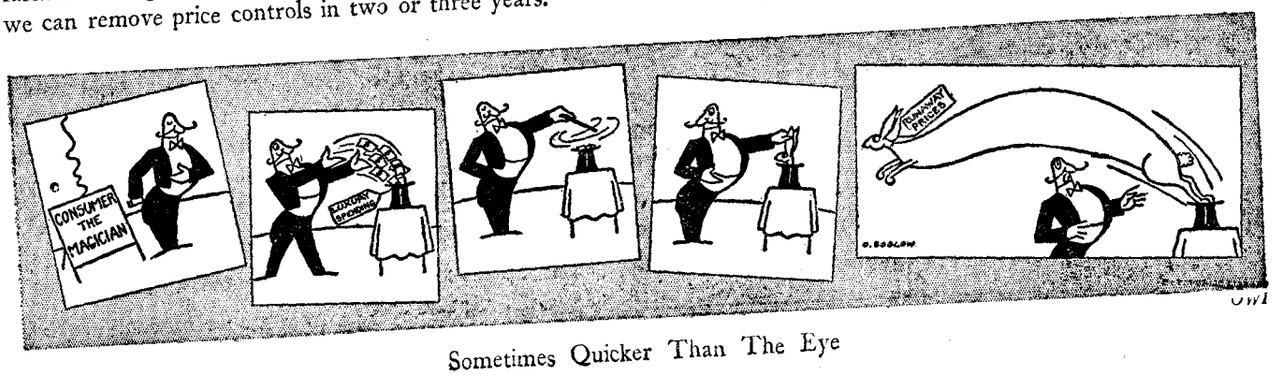
Dr. Mabel Newcomer of Vassar College feels there is no assurance that higher prices will achieve full production. Favoring stronger and continued price control, she commented: "Unprecedented profits—after taxes—in recent years indicate that with industry operating to capacity, current prices should be adequate, even after substantial wage increases."

Dr. Kenneth Boulding of Iowa State College thinks that the abandonment of price controls would make inevitable a 100 or 200-percent rise. Suggesting stronger controls on basic raw materials and wholesale commodities, along with relaxation on finished products, he felt that some rise in the price level is "probably inevitable."

Dr. C. L. Christensen of the University of Indiana doubted if price controls can prevent inflation unless increased taxes on income can be used to balance the federal budget.

Five University of Texas economists—C. E. Ayres, A. R. Allen, G. V. Stocking, C. A. Wiley, E. E. Hale and R. H. Montgomery—favored stronger price control, along with higher progressive income taxes to drain off existing excess purchasing power.

Fifteen of the University of California economics faculty—T. Grether, R. A. Brady, W. J. Fellner, C. A. Gulick, R. A. Gordon, S. Daggett, L. Kidner, A. H. Mowgray, P. Mason, L. A. Doyle, M. M. Knight, E. H. Huntington, M. M. Davisson, I. B. Cross and C. Landauer—noted that pressures are approaching a breaking-point. They favored continuing price controls with strengthened authority for another year, holding



Sometimes Quicker Than The Eye

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wages and prices in a balanced relationship, holding tax revenues at a high level, allocating strategic materials and increasing Federal Reserve Board powers over reserve requirements.

Dr. Frank Albert Fetter of Princeton University, on the other hand, found present policies hopeless, and price control "more evil than good since the war." He suggested restoring the gold content of the dollar, contracting the money volume, increasing the bank reserve requirements, increasing the interest rate on bonds in the hands of individuals, enabling the exchange of cashable bonds for old-age annuities, replacing strikes and labor violence by compulsory courts, permitting wages to rise to competitive levels, strengthening and enforcing laws against monopoly prices, increasing production, delaying demand for consumables, reducing public expenditures and balancing the budget.

Other replies, all affirmative and generally urgent, came from Drs. Harold M. Groves of the University of Wisconsin, B. F. Haley of Stanford University, Ben W. Lewis of Oberlin College, Seymour E. Harris of Harvard University, J. M. Clark of Columbia University, Leo Rogin of the University of California, Alan Sweezy of Williams College, Earl Rolph of the University of California and Joseph S. Davis of the Food Research Institute.

Aubrey G. Lanston, vice-president of the First Boston Corporation of New York City, replied that he favored the immediate relaxing of control and "some inflation" which can be curbed by attaining full production, instead of a "later, far more disastrous result." An answer was received from President Robert R. Wason of the National Association of Manufacturers, although the inquiry was addressed to one of its economists, outlining the well known stand of that organization for dropping price controls.

Fireworks in London

by Saville Davis

London (by radio)

THERE ARE two schools of thought on the question whether Iran, Greece and Java should have been thrown at the fledgling Security Council. One of them is tough-minded. It argues that the sooner the Council takes hold, the better, and it is considered a welcome sign of strength that the UNO has stood the strain.

The other is less sanguine. These problems are ranked as the aftermath of the war—problems of the peace treaty, much better solved by direct Allied negotiations. Once a reasonable equilibrium is reached, then the UNO should take over, according to this argument. Meanwhile, there are too many bruised feelings here for anyone to get much comfort from the situation.

It may be significant that there are few of the tough-minded school here in London. Evidently it is easier to take the long view from a long, safe distance. Those who have felt the hot breath of nationalism in that stifling room at Church House, have seen what started as a series of maneuvers develop into trading punches, always harder and harder; those who have seen the primitive rejoicing in all British breasts when "good old Ernie" hit him one, and the cold, steel-eyed glint of the Russians when Vishinsky jabbed back, were too absorbed with the short view. From here, it was not a nice business.

But it probably was inevitable, even though for three months, under the Preparatory Commission, junior diplomats had been whipping the UNO into shape. They got used to one another's quirks. Noel Baker was sensitive, Stevenson was patient, Gromyko was taciturn but increasingly coöperative. They and the other leading delegates built up an excellent working team, primarily concerned with making the UNO function. Then the big day came and the big boys took over: Bevin, who fancies himself as a plain speaker, who feels the feuding vigor of the Second International rising up within him, and Vishinsky, the voluble public prosecutor and Soviet trouble-shooter in the hot spots of Europe.

THIS explains the contradictions that are visible here. On the whole, the new organization has got off to an excellent start. A vast number of elections—vice-presidents, chairmen of committees and members of various councils—were handled sanely, despite every reason to expect the contrary. An incredible amount of procedural agreements were worked out. They seem frivolous to the outsider, but they are the essence of creating the machinery which will hold the sovereign democracies, the dictatorships, the regimes of the Right and Left together against obvious centrifugal forces.

The Trusteeship Committee of the Assembly has just produced an agreement out of some very stubborn dissents, increasing the pressures on the big colonial powers to yield small but important inches in the direction of eventual self-government. There is a new anti-colonial wind blowing here. Those peoples who do not

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Saville Davis, a member of the staff of the Christian Science Monitor *specializing in foreign affairs, has attracted wide attention by his brilliant series of articles for his paper reporting developments at the UNO meeting in London.*

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govern themselves are the least represented but the most felt at the UNO. The colonial powers are still holding to their right of veto as the Trusteeship Council takes shape, but votes and momentum are against them.

Disputes over the World Federation of Trade Unions were not too awful, although Senator Connally's ripe senatorial tactics in defense of the American Federation of Labor, however justified they might have been, were a trifle brontosaurian. Without calling the entire roll of issues, one may say that where the junior diplomats had charge of things, they came off much better than the critics usually expect from that ilk. That inexplicable American State Department which has been maligned within recent memory for publicly laundering so much anti-Communist linen, has been a pillar of strength—patient, conciliatory, unruffled during crises, keeping its collective eye on the international goal.

BUT THE Security Council is another story. It is difficult to trace the course of praise and blame for what happened. Starting conveniently from Moscow, Mr. Bevin did most of the conceding, and returned home to find everyone saying that Britain could no longer stand up to the other big powers and should reorient herself with France and the smaller powers. He took it hard. When Russian influence pushed closer to those unmentionable oil wells in Iran, threatening the government there from within, and when he could get nowhere by direct negotiations, he sponsored—mind you, he did not initiate, he explicitly denies that—but he sponsored the Iranian appeal and made it Britain's own, once it reached the Security Council. The Russians thought it was unkind to single them out and pick on their troops, out of all the Allied troops now in allegedly friendly small countries, to be arraigned at the first session of the Council. They raised the issues of Greece and Java, not to argue them, but to induce Britain to soft-pedal Iran and effect a mutual withdrawal.

Doyle in the Philadelphia Record

Steer Her Clear of the Iceberg

Bevin thought he had them. Instead of withdrawing, he advanced to the vindication with all banners flying. He is a formidable, immensely appealing figure, easily the most powerful personality at the UNO, and on that first day of argument on Greece, he scored so well technically that if there was any case against British troops in Greece it was overwhelmed by his sheer weight. Then he overplayed his hand. He sharply questioned Russia's good faith. At the next meeting Vishinsky hit back, and hard.

The words they both used are on the record; the hard feelings they engendered are not. These hard feelings cannot be expunged by reports, which are superficially accurate, of the two principals in smiling talk at the Soviet Embassy, or smiling, arms across shoulders, at Church House. The Japanese smiled, too.

It was the excesses of nationalism which caused the trouble. Bevin said with great emotion, reminiscent of Churchill's Britain-stands-alone speech, that "Britain alone in the whole world is arraigned before this tribunal," charged "with the most diabolical crime any nation can be charged with." He apparently forgot that a few days before, Russia had really been in that position, and had raised the issue of Greece because she considered Bevin responsible for her plight and wanted company in the dock. Bevin said that "by the kindness of Iran," British troops were in that country and he thanked Iran for "placing its territory" at the service of the Allies in the dark hours of the war. He forgot that the British navy captured four gunboats of the Iranian navy, killed an admiral, landed with guns firing, deposed the Shah and set up the government whose kindness he was citing.

THESE INCONSISTENCIES should not be overemphasized and are brought up only to illustrate the things that happen when a Foreign Minister goes all out and says, "absolve me or brand me," twice repeats that his country's honor is at stake, says his government "cannot submit to the condemnation of the Soviet government, nor can the British people," who have "bitterness in their hearts." Vishinsky, who was struck by the maneuver rather than by the phrase, threatened to invoke the big-power veto, spurned compromises and specifically committed his government to a condemnation of Bevin. When he talked about "the cold breath of the unhappy past" and "dark shadows which worked not for good but for evil relations," and said "nothing could be worse" than Bevin's charges, everyone knew that this was not sheer forensics. This was the cold breath of an issue which, wrongly handled and sharply pointed up, can break the United Nations.

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Bundles from Britain

by Ralph G. Martin

SEVERAL DOZEN PHOTOGRAPHERS were clustered around two cute brides in the *Argentina's* lounge, twisting for different angles, popping flashbulbs, yelling directions: "Turn this way, willya, babe? . . . How about a snappy smile? . . . A little more leg, please, that's it. . . ."

In the center of the room, huge klieg lights were brightly blazing on a play crib where three babies were bawling while a photographer furiously jiggled a doll and made funny faces and gurgling noises. One baby stopped crying for a minute to stare at him, then started all over again.

Near an exit, a newsreel man was prompting nine-year-old Donald Woods, who was dressed up in a cut-down soldier suit all ready to invade Brooklyn. "Now, when I yell," explained the photographer, "you come running out on deck toward the rail, and remember, try to look like you're sick."

All the others of the 200 members of the press were swarming down the lower decks, rushing in and out of the cabins where most of the 458 brides and their 175 children were waiting patiently. Some weren't so patient, though.

When one cameraman stuck his Speed Graphic too close to a woman's face, she snapped out, "What do you want, a photograph or an X-ray?" Another handed her baby to a friend and said angrily, "I'm going to go to the Ladies' Room and lock myself in and get away from this madhouse."

"Oh, damn," complained Ethel Mansfield of Gloucester, England. "Why are they keeping us here? I want to get off this ship. I want to see my husband."

Mrs. Mansfield was worried about something else, too. She was going to Chicago, she said, and she didn't believe everything she heard about the gangsters there, but wasn't that the place where they recently found that little baby with its head cut off?

Drawn for the New Republic *by Bernadine Custer*

In the narrow passageway, a dark-haired pretty girl was telling a reporter, "The first thing my husband and I are going to do is to head straight for Florida where we can sort of relax and warm up."

Bubbling over in the next cabin, Mary Klein kept repeating, "I just can't believe I'm here. Really, I just can't." She had been chopping down trees for the Women's Land Army and that's where she had met her Monroe. She only had one question: "Tell me," she asked, "is the Bronx really the most beautiful county in the United States, like Monroe says?"

A lieutenant colonel barged in and briskly asked if the women had any complaints or suggestions. They certainly had. There weren't enough disposable diapers and all the babies had diarrhea because their formulas weren't changed and the cribs weren't fastened down, so they rolled all over the cabin during that three-day storm. The colonel scribbled everything in his notebook, smiled weakly and quickly backtracked out of the room.

Then Linda Perfetti told how her husband used to be a professional boxer but now worked for a carpet mill in Amsterdam, New York. "He kept writing me that he was going to get me a washing machine and a rocking chair and a mirror so that if I didn't take in washing for a living I'd be able to sit in the chair

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and look in the mirror and watch myself starve to death." She laughed hysterically. "Isn't he a scream?"

Interrupting the laughter was a young photographer with a press pass stuck in his hat. Very quickly, he rattled off a list of ten cities, ending up with Columbus, Ohio, and Brooklyn, New York.

"I'm from Columbus," one woman squealed excitedly as if she had won a sweepstakes ticket. Within seconds, he was popping pictures and the baby was bawling and the photographer was saying, "Kitchy-kitchy-koo" and "Wonderful . . . wonderful . . ."

One bystander whispered loudly how nice it would be if the man took pictures of all of them with their babies. She nudged a younger girl to go ask him but the girl shook her head vigorously and began to giggle.

The Columbus woman was telling the cameraman that her name was Dorothy Pfefferte and that her husband was a sailor. His ship wasn't coming in for a few days yet, so she planned to go shopping like mad and then meet his ship. "My husband married his landlady's daughter," she said, laughing.

There was a whirring static noise of the loudspeaker followed by a booming voice saying, "Your attention, please . . ." and then a list of those women leaving in the first group.

"My husband won't be waiting for me anyway," explained a small, pale woman who was heading for Columbia, South Carolina. "My husband has been in the hospital for 13 months now and I'm not sure when he'll get out. And when he does, he'll walk with a limp." Her face tightened. "But I don't care," she continued. "He's alive and I'm here and that's all that matters."

"I wonder how we're going to like it here," broke in a woman who said she was Evelyn Payne. She told about the daily orientation talks and the questions they had asked: Why we drove on the wrong side of the street, and what the relation was between prices and wages, and were the American women really going to boo them when they walked off the ship, and did everybody truly think that they had funny accents?

On another bunk, a young mother was telling a well dressed woman reporter how, at 2:30 that morning, the loudspeaker had broadcast, "Come on, girls. Get out of bed. It's the Statue of Liberty."

"And the way we ran," she said. "The way we wrapped ourselves in blankets and raced on deck and there she was all lit up and we were so excited that nobody could say anything except one girl who kept screeching, 'We're here . . . we're here.' Then we all started singing 'God Bless America' and some of the girls began to cry and it was just like in the movies."

Up at the dispensary, Sergeant Joe Sharimataro told how this was the worst trip he ever had. "Those women almost drove me nuts," he observed. "This crib was too big and that one was too small and they all wanted diapers. Believe me, I almost went Section Eight."

Then he relaxed and smiled. "But the kids were OK," he reported. "I like kids. There was one cute one, about a year old, named Christobel and I used to go up and play with her every day. Honestly, she didn't want to go back to her mother." He beamed. "Kids really go for me."

On the promenade deck there was a big bulletin board with a list of all who were going ashore in the first and second groups. Women were crowded around it, squeezed together. One finally pushed her way out. She was almost crying. "My name's not on it," she wailed.

I JUST couldn't sleep last night," said Stuart Palmer of Milford, Connecticut, who was standing in the hallway at the Red Cross Chapter House on Lexington Avenue. "I walked the streets until I was tired and then I stretched out on the bed and kept smoking one cigarette after another and I must have worn out the face of the clock looking at it so much."

He held up a small box. "Three pairs of nylons," he explained. "And I'll bet she doesn't even know what nylons are."

Standing next to him, Al Finnessey said that he had figured it out and it had cost him and his wife $90 in special-delivery air-mail stamps since he left her in June. "We've been writing every single day," he said.

The cigarette almost burned his fingers and he dropped it and stepped on it. "Why didn't they let us meet

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them at the pier? It would have been so much easier. Gosh, I'm more nervous now than the day we got married."

A bus pulled up outside and the brides jumped out, looking around nervously. There were soon a dozen clinches and men were walking around with rouge on their lips and dazed eyes. One man leaning out of the balcony spotted his wife and yelled, "Jean . . . I'm up here, Jean . . . up here. . . ." She looked up, waved hysterically, then stood there for a second just staring at him before she raced into the building.

Finnessey was still alone. "I guess she'll be in the next bus," he said.

Upstairs everything was confusion, with people talking and kissing and crying. One woman with a white tag that read "Counts, Gloria," was waiting for her husband to come back with her baggage. She was telling how disappointed she was with New York because it looked so much like London, when her husband appeared with the suitcases. He was all out of breath. "Come on, honey," he said, grabbing her. "Let's get out of here. We've got things to do."

Tidelands Oil

by Inge Kaiser

WHEN ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1945, the House of Representatives renounced federal jurisdiction over about one-fifth of the nation's petroleum reserves, the newspapers gave the story barely a half-inch. And the Senate may soon follow suit. Hearings on the McCarran resolution, which would give the states control over tidelands—and the oil below the ocean—are already under way.

There is something particularly ominous about the pending legislation. Apart from depriving the people of this country of the most efficient utilization of their resources, the McCarran resolution and its companion measures which have been passed by the House are now being rushed through the Senate Judiciary Committee in an effort to forestall a Supreme Court decision on the tidelands issue. According to a series of disclosures by Edward A. Harris of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, the prime mover behind all this activity is Edwin W. Pauley.

Coming while Pauley's nomination for Undersecretary of the Navy is under fire, these hearings are important because they may reveal what part he played in the battle for tidelands. Since the Navy post carries with it jurisdiction over the Naval petroleum reserves, it would be well to learn more of Pauley's interests in the oil industry. There will be opportunities to do this in the hearings on tidelands oil. The Judiciary Committee is headed by Senator McCarran, the author of the resolution. Of the other 17 members, eight are from heavy oil-producing states. Two of these eight and two others are traditional states'-rights men. One man, however, may save the day for the people. That is Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who defeated the powerful fire-insurance lobby in 1944 in a similar case.

Mr. Pauley had laid careful groundwork on Capitol Hill. He had frequently talked to Senator McCarran, to other Senators, to Representatives and cabinet members (including Mr. Ickes, whom he did not convince). Mr. Pauley believes in states' rights. He also has profitable interests in tidelands-oil properties: the Petrol Corporation operates on one of the richest offshore fields on the California coast. To supplement his own efforts Pauley has introduced congressmen to Mr. W. W. Clary, special assistant to Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General of California. And Mr. Clary used these introductions well.

Pauley went into California politics for the avowed purpose of electing a legislature friendly to the independent oil companies he headed. He can do business with his state legislature. He wants to keep on doing business with it and not with Congress in Washington. If Congress turns over tidelands jurisdiction to the states, Pauley's purpose will be accomplished. It might not be so safe, from his point of view, to entrust the decision to the Supreme Court.

Oil interests in California and other states were able, by pressure tactics, to produce what Secretary Ickes called "a unanimity unprecedented in legal history," the agreement of 46 attorneys general on state ownership of tidelands. Arizona and Washington resisted the pressure, and Missouri and Georgia withdrew their support when they learned about some of the private interests involved.

But the question of tidelands ownership is a public question. Legally, it appears to be an issue between the several states and the federal government. Accurately described, the contention is not about tidelands—the area between high and low watermark—but about the "marginal sea"—the region beyond low watermark, out to the three-mile limit. Through a recent executive order, United States jurisdiction has been extended

Inge Kaiser was formerly associated with the Oil Workers' International Union, CIO, and with the War Production Board. At present she is free-lancing on the subject of oil.

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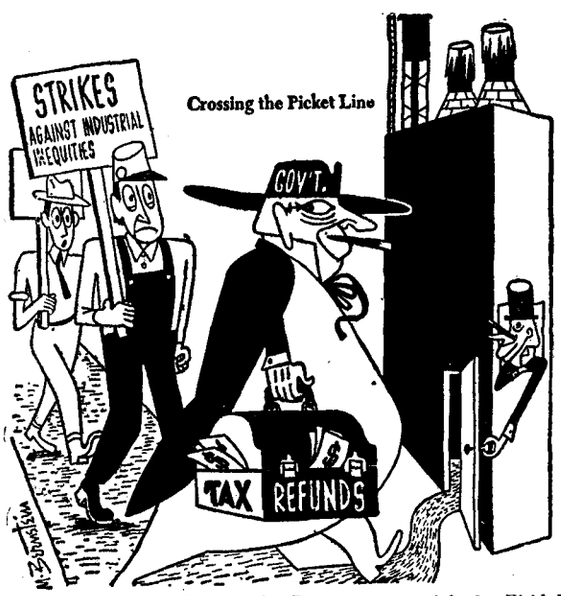
from the three-mile limit to the edge of the continental shelf, which is an extension of the continent sloping gradually under the ocean to a depth of 600 feet. In some areas this shelf extends to 100 miles from shore. In the opinion of Professor Edwin Borchard of Yale University, admittedly speaking on behalf of the oil interests, any settlement concerning the marginal sea will legally apply to the entire continental shelf. Thus the prize is tremendously enlarged.

The potential petroleum reserves underlying the territorial waters can only be guessed. For California alone they range to about 300 million barrels. There are 22 oil fields along the coast of Louisiana. Texas and Mississippi also have offshore production. North Carolina and Alabama have granted exploratory tidelands leases.

The oil situation in general is made acute by recent reports of premature exhaustion of American petroleum reserves in contrast to alleged hoarding of foreign fields. The Navy, with its great need for fuel oil, wants to establish naval petroleum reserves on the offshore deposits. Secretary Ickes favors federal jurisdiction established through legal channels, so that public reserves may be conserved.

Problems of oil production from tidelands in California have kept lawyers and legislators busy for more than a decade. It was here that the practice of "whipstocking," slant-drilling into somebody else's pool, was brought to perfection. Since 1937, however, national attention has repeatedly been given to the situation by Congress. In 1937 and succeeding years, Senator Gerald P. Nye introduced a resolution which would have had the opposite effect of the present McCarran resolution. It asserted federal jurisdiction over tidelands. In 1938 the Senate passed it without dissent. Four of the Senators now on the Judiciary Committee were in the Senate then, including McCarran, who has since changed his mind. The resolution was stalled in the House. In 1939 Nye came back with a resolution to establish a naval petroleum reserve on California tidelands. It is worth noting at this time that this resolution was amended to read that the Attorney General should institute proceedings legally to determine the status of tidelands. That is the very procedure which is now being so heatedly rejected.



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Strong support for the original Nye resolution was expressed by the Navy, which was particularly anxious to stop the shipment of tidelands oil to Japan. But the Japanese received oil through 1940.

IN THE SPRING of 1945 the wind shifted, and for the first time resolutions were introduced designed to transfer the tidelands to the states. The timing and the very fact of introduction were prompted by the imminence of court action. A suit to clear up the title problem had been discussed for some time, but its introduction had been delayed by various political factors. The House went to work on this legislation with suspicious haste. Hearings lasted barely three days, and the debate on the floor only one. Oil was rarely mentioned. Only 11 dissenting votes were mustered in the House.

The Senate was set for a speedy repetition of the House performance. The Judiciary Subcommittee, having kibitzed at the House hearings, reported the McCarran resolution favorably, expecting the whole committee to do the same. But meanwhile the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the Washington *Post* had caught up with these goings on, and demanded full Senate hearings with testimony by representatives of the Navy and Interior Departments, which are now in progress.

The Justice Department meanwhile had instituted proceedings to obtain judicial determination of the tidelands issue, and to save time, invoked the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court by asking for an injunction against the state of California.

These are the issues in the present battle for tidelands:

1. Congressional policy has given no hint of concern for efficiency in the utilization of our petroleum resources. The House has shown itself willing to hand over to the states for good the job which so far they have bungled completely.

2. The insurance-company resolution in the Seventy-eighth Congress, the pending legislation which would exempt railroads from anti-trust laws and the tidelands resolution, all three, point to a dangerous legislative trend: deciding by legislation cases pending before the Supreme Court.

3. Perhaps the most scandalous aspect of this affair is the high-pressure lobbying campaign that was brought to light. Public officials were made pawns of the powerful oil industry, which has for decades produced an array of maladorous episodes. The very servility of state officials to the oil barons is a strong point in favor of federal jurisdiction over the tidelands.

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Washington Notes

Headaches for Mr. Truman

PRESIDENT TRUMAN is running into lots of trouble. Not to mention foreign affairs and a stubborn Congress, his nomination of Edwin W. Pauley caused serious doubts among would-be well-wishers. The nomination was unwise but understandable, I think; Pauley is a forceful, hard-driving executive whose appeal to a harassed President was evident. Mr. Truman retained confidence in Mr. Pauley even after the Ickes testimony.

Then again, reconversion is giving Mr. Truman a headache. It all seemed so simple a few months ago; just take off controls and slide down the chute; but now "stumbling blocks" (to use Mr. Truman's own word) have appeared and apparently the government must pay through the nose in order to buy steel production in what has come to be known locally as "the Big Steal Formula." To continue, the food crisis has arisen, half the world is hungry and part of it starving, and it is suddenly evident that the United States ended its rationing too quickly, just as it tried to reconvert too quickly.

Political fog lies heavy over Washington, as this is written, but it is evident that the first of what may be several high Administration reshuffles is under way. Mr. Truman is in process of building a new and, I believe, stronger team. It is a little unwise to make forecasts now, but perhaps this is fair to say: Harry Truman in 62 years has unexpectedly found himself in more jobs of higher importance than almost any other home-town boy, and down to date he has shown one outstanding virtue, a remarkable capacity for growth in all of them. That capacity for growth, let's hope, is still at work.

Ernie Adamson, the chief counsel of the House Committee on Un-American Affairs, has taken to letter-writing recently. On January 29, for example, he addressed a signed letter to a New York group known as Veterans Against Discrimination in which he noted that the organization's circulars "refer to democracy several times." Mr. Adamson continued, somewhat condescendingly, "I wonder if you are sufficiently familiar with the history of the United States to be aware that this country was not organized as a democracy . . . ?" He explained to the Veterans that the Constitution guarantees "a republican form of government." Having set this little matter straight, Mr. Adamson then demanded of the returned soldiers whether they intended to achieve their goal of creating a democracy by "an amendment of the Constitution—or do you propose to conduct a propaganda campaign against the administration of the provisions of the Constitution?"

Even for a tough reporter, a letter like that from a congressional-committee counsel to ex-soldiers is hard to take. But Ernie, it appears, loves to compose letters. He sent one recently to Drew Pearson, columnist and commentator, also asking for an explanation of the use of the word "democracy" in his broadcasts. According to the press, Adamson warned that upon Mr. Pearson's answer would depend whether he referred him to the Un-American Committee. This was too much even for the committee, one of whose members called the letter "asinine." Dominating figure on the committee is, of course, Representative John E. Rankin. He has Martin Dies's bigotry but not his brains. It is a fair guess that when Mr. Adamson writes it is Mr. Rankin who dictates.

This column has never thrown up its cap for General MacArthur in the political field. But it has suspected that he is doing a good administrative job in Japan. It now develops that this is also the impression of the first foreign official observers to go over the scene with the Far Eastern Advisory Commission. After an exhaustive study the report has gone back to London that the MacArthur policies are first-rate and that his exclusive authority should be upheld. But the observers fear that the whole Allied effort to make Japan a democracy will fail if the United States declines to commit itself publicly to a long-term occupation of not less than 20 years.

The charge is made that there is an atmosphere of impermanence among American officers and men. A catastrophe may follow, they warn, if the Japanese are not told firmly and finally that they are in for at least a generation of control, until democracy really takes root. It has been impossible to conceal from the Japanese, says the report, that most Americans are eager to "go home," and that Japan may be able to outwait the American visit. Liberal elements can have no feeling of security; reactionary politicians can—and have—put on a false front; the Japanese people are just as passive under present American occupation as they were under the old military clique. The United States, the report goes on, should unquestionably retain firm and predominant control in Japan, but it requires nothing less than a career service of American civil servants to end the Japanese hope of quick escape, or of division among the Allies such as allowed Germany to wriggle back to authoritarianism after 1918.

Notes.—While its potentialities are beyond doubt tremendous, about all the new "full-employment" law actually does, as finally passed, is to set up a three-man Council of Economic Advisers, at salaries of $15,000 each, who will study conditions and report to the President, and to create a new Congressional Joint Committee, seven each from House and Senate, who will consider the report which the President will then send to Congress. Even so, the nation has seen full employment created by war, and sooner or later is going to demand the same thing in peace. . . . Hawaii isn't going to get statehood, because that would mean two more Senators; maldistribution of Senators in relation to population is already preposterous. . . . Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith will succeed Harriman at Moscow. . . . Deep disappointment is heard here over America's representative on the new International Court of Justice; no personal criticism is intended of Green H. Hackworth, State Department legal adviser for 21 years, who got the post, but the job called for somebody of Supreme Court caliber. . . . The Communist Party is in process of excommunicating Earl Browder, charged with "enemy-class ideology" and "Browderism."

Washington T. R. B.

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Far and Wide

Born Yesterday, by Garson Kanin. Lyceum Theatre, February 4, 1946.
Apple of His Eye, by Kenyon Nicholson and Charles Robinson. Biltmore Theatre, February 5, 1946.
Lute Song, by Sidney Howard and Will Irwin, from the Chinese play, "Pi-Pa-Ki." Plymouth Theatre, February 6, 1946.

FOR REASONS not hard to understand, perhaps, the word "farce" has come to be more or less derogatory, implying a fairly low form of theatre. This is too bad because it involves the loss of an exact and needed term. To call a play a farce is nothing against it; that only implies a possibility of exaggeration, a degree of extreme projection in the writing and on the stage that is not possible to comedy proper. Comedy has its bounds, within which its reason, humor, meaning and picture of life are contained and defined. Farce and comedy parallel melodrama and tragedy; and farce, through its possibilities of exaggeration, or heightening, is in its nature closer to tragedy than comedy can be.

We must get this straight before we speak of "Born Yesterday," the new piece that has got off to such a start. In the first place, if you come to the play thinking it intends to be a serious discussion of modern matters, you will be disappointed and think it pretty poor, which it is not. If you are told it is farce and are misled by the term, you will think it is too light to bother with. That would be too bad indeed, for "Born Yesterday" keeps going all through and is very jolly fun, a bright and crackling entertainment. The drawing of the characters, the broad acting and the frank projection of the points over and far beyond the footlights all belong to farce, a farce that dips now into "Pygmalion," now into "State of the Union" for its themes, along with much scattering around on its own. Mr. Gary Merrill, Mr. Otto Hulett, Mr. Paul Douglas carry things off satisfactorily; Miss Judy Holliday brings a lot of talent to the chorus girl about to be tutored into culture by the *New Republic* correspondent (Mr. Merrill) —a young man whose principles and charm reflect great credit on our modest pages. "Born Yesterday" is one of those theatre events you can go on smiling over.

Mr. Donald Oenslager has done the single setting, the hotel room at $235 a day, all ultra-Modern-Victorian-Non-Victorian-Baroque, costly and fantastically chic, and for this particular play very witty.

"Apple of His Eye," the new play in which Mr. Jed Harris presents Walter Huston, is the story of a farmer in Indiana who has fallen in love with a young girl who has been taking care of him during his housekeeper's absence in a hospital. The girl is the daughter of a neighbor; she is young enough to be his granddaughter, for he is on the shady side of fifty. There are the usual complications, a son and daughter-in-law who do not want to lose their chance at his property, the gossiping neighbors and so on. In the end it all works out happily.

This comedy is in a sound, native genre and has no false or cheap intentions. But it is not written with enough native tang or pungent idiom or warm, human detail to afford Mr. Harris the full exercise of his directing abilities or Mr. Huston a richly rewarding material for his acting. That throws more of the burden on the story itself, which in turn is agreeable rather than compelling or contagious. Miss Doro Merande and Mr. Arthur Hunnicut, both prime favorites among our character actors, are capital as the neighbors; and Miss Claire Woodbury is entirely convincing as the housekeeper. Except for a strained use of her voice which leads to a certain monotony, Miss Mary James is well cast as the young heroine. You believe in her fresh feelings and simple goodness. In fact Miss James and Mr. Huston make the youth-and-age motif of the story both believable and endearing, and this is much more of a compliment than the mere words may seem to imply.

Mr. Walter Huston grades the many aspects of the farmer role with so much rightness and maturity of style that you might take too casually his excellent performance. He is a fine actor, with a sound technique, an unfailing good taste, warm quality and a certain manly and human common sense.

It is hard to write within any right scale of values about an event like "Lute Song," a venture undertaken with the intention of sincerity and taste and based on a Chinese classic, but not, of course, seeking to achieve the depths of meaning or profound appeal of that classic drama. The play itself is adapted, or translated, or however you care to put it, from the famous "Pi-Pa-Ki," an age-old favorite of the classic Chinese theatre, and with this are combined songs in a modern Broadway idiom, in their own way serious, if you like, and also a degree of sheer vivid pageantry. There is bound to be at best a certain amount of self-consciousness about this sort of foreign material, a certain unreality within an importation; and when this is directed into a musical show, the chances for any complete unity of tone are even less than usual, and our insistence on demanding any such unity is even less justified than usual. We merely become high-horse and academic.

Taking "Lute Song" for what it is, then, we may say that it is a show lovely to look at, done with smoothness, refinement and, now and again, wit. It goes slow at times partly because the various motifs which in the Chinese for the Chinese would be deep, biting, real, of the very blood of men, become with us only charming, gentle values and pleasing fancy; and the playing which with the Chinese, for all that surface beauty and elevated simplification of style, is the enactment of tragic passions or true emotions at least, becomes with us only decorative or graceful or quaintly humorous. However, if "Lute Song" does go slow at times, it is never ugly and never cheap, and is often lovely and engaging.

Miss Mary Martin, as the heroine, the tender embodiment of every womanly ideal, gives a performance full of a delicate personal quality of her own and of beautiful movement—not to mention her costumes by Valentina—and toward the end of the play she achieves much more than that. Mr. McKay Morris, skillful and witty as the Imperial Preceptor, Miss Mildred Dunnock as the old mother, and Mr. Yul Brenner, blessed with a specially agreeable stage voice, as the young scholar, were all to be commended. Mr. Raymond Scott's music came off well. The mere presence on the stage of Mr. Austin Duncan is

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a superb thing in itself, not to mention his consummate portrayal of the old father.

The star of the occasion was Mr. Robert Edmond Jones, whose décor brought rounds of applause from the audience time after time. Whatever shortage there may be these days of paint and costume materials, there were no signs of it in "Lute Song." As sheer scene-painting, some of the strips and flats were a lesson in studio execution, a phase of décor often neglected or missed by our designers. One scene especially brought back to our minds the Flight from Egypt that Mr. Jones created years ago for "Green Pastures." This scene in "Lute Song" is where the old father and the mother sit at the table, starved and waiting for death; he sits facing us, she in profile, to his left; he is in black, she in divers grays. This moment is in a style we have almost forgotten, and indeed rarely have had. Such design as this cannot be conveyed in words here, but may be said to have a kind of grand and sacred manner, as in some great painting or sculpture.

STARK YOUNG

Pigmeat's Blues

JUST ABOUT the only full-bodied, unseemly jazz being sung today is that of a high-flying, gay Negro named "Pigmeat" Alamo Markham, who works as a dancer and "black-face" comic in tent shows and vaudeville and claims to have invented the dance steps called "Truckin'," "Susie-Q" and "Boogie-Woogie." One of Markham's last jobs was that of house comedian at the Apollo Theatre in New York, and some of his first were in the twenties in vaudeville acts with singers like Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey, whose songs he sings and whom he sings like to a certain extent. He is at least closer to them than he is to the embarrassing limpness and sentimentality of singers like Billie Holiday, the Ink Spots, Thelma Carpenter. His enunciation and phrasing—in spite of vaudeville qualities that recall people like Harry Richman and Al Jolson—his manner of keeping the music moving forward in a steady, powerful rhythm, his landing on notes with two feet and having a voice that sounds as if it came out of the South rather than out of a cocktail lounge, and out of a man rather than out of a turnip—all remind you of singing as it used to be done by Negroes. His first two records, on which he sings "See See Rider," "You've Been a Good Old Wagon," "How Long How Long Blues" and "Blues Before Sunrise," have just been released by Blue Note Records (767 Lexington Avenue, New York City) and if they are pretty far from being the best blues records—which, as far as I am concerned, are the ones Bertha "Chippie" Hill recorded with Louis Armstrong and Richard M. Jones—they are awfully close to being the most unusual.

Pigmeat's manner of dancing to his singing and of taking an elaborate bow which ends with a high kick is of a piece with his singing, which is enthusiastic, gay and hammy even on so pure and sour a lament as "See See Rider" and even —as on the two Leroy Carr Blues—when he tries to sound miserable down to his toes. He takes "See See Rider" (as well as "You've Been a Good Old Wagon," which deserves to be taken cheerfully more than "See See Rider") at a gallop, and not only rids the song of its sweet, mournful quality, but, while singing of killing his girl, getting himself a good girl and killing her too, manages to sound very happy, contented, and as though he had never known a lonely moment in his life. One way or another he turns the song into a tricky, showy tune, but he makes a good job of it. There is the cuteness in his singing of a buffoon trying to restrain himself, and an easy playfulness about everything except some piano playing by Vivian Smith which sounds as if he was trying to be playful but didn't have enough fingers. (Oddly enough, when he plays behind Pigmeat rather than as solo performer, he does some of the happiest, most exuberant work on the record.) Pigmeat's voice is a broad, hard, impure one that at best can create the effect of intense, high gayety, and at other times seems like anything that you ever saw in a particularly primitive burlesque show. He always sounds like a large-theatre singer trying not only to get his voice into every corner of the house but at times as though he were trying to knock down the chandeliers.

He misses by several hundred miles some of the accomplishments of the best blues singers. The difference between the way he moves from one note to another, becoming more or less lyrical while holding to a definite feeling and mood, and the way Bessie Smith did it, is as great as that between the playing of a baseball clown and that of Chase or Gehringer. His singing never strikes you as being plainly and simply what he feels and must sing. It is as full of artifice—most of it misused—as Chippie Hill's was without it. Pigmeat makes up for a great number of his faults by the unusual, shattering quality of his voice and his extraordinary rowdiness. The best of his two Blue Note records is the one on which he sings "How Long How Long" and "Blues Before Sunrise" and wrestles with lyrics that were probably written by a college graduate who had a singer like Kenneth Spencer in mind. He tries much harder on these songs to sound blue, and the effort, besides bringing out what must be the record number of hammy sounds and maneuvers for a twelve-inch disk, shows the box-car dimensions of his voice and the intense, muscular quality of his singing. He is accompanied—especially well on this particular record—by Oliver "Rev." Mesheux's Blue Six, which consists of Mesheux, trumpet; Sandy Williams, trombone; Vivian Smith, piano; Jimmy Shirley, guitar; Israel Crosby, bass; and Tommy Benford, drums.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Flatly asserting, "I expect my son to fight in the war against Russia," Dickson [Cecil B. Dickson, Washington bureau chief of the Gannett newspapers] urged approval of the loan to Britain, "because we will have to use England again as a beachhead." – *From the Cincinnati* Times-Star.

Herman H. Ross of Jackson, candidate for the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate from Tennessee, in a formal campaign announcement yesterday advocated the elimination of the Fifteenth Amendment from the Constitution of the United States. It is the amendment which gives Negroes the right of elective franchise. – *From the Chattanooga* Times.

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Nice Distinction

The Rev. Francis J. Connell, associate professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University, Washington, declared: "From an ethical standpoint the use of the atomic bomb was simply murder." He said the bomb could be used justly only where non-combatants were not imperiled in great numbers. – *From the New York* Times.

A Word to the Wise

If labor would get busy and quietly buy up shares of corporations, they could attain their goals far quicker than by their present silly strikes. – *Roger Babson in his syndicated column.*

Well, It's Still a Young Country

Beginning with Australia, which the speaker said is modern except in one respect, the social life, which hinges around the home . . . – *From the Clinton* [*Iowa*] Herald.

Labor-Peace Department

Pupils at Leland Junior High School were back at their desks today after some of them staged a strike for a shorter school day and longer lunch period. – *AP dispatch from Chevy Chase, Maryland.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Germans Don't Feel Guilty

SIR: I would like to add my voice, as an American soldier just back from Germany, to the many others that are saying that through no fault of our own the German (and Austrian) goes right on believing that we are the war criminals and that the bombing of the lovely old German cities was the greatest of crimes. . . . They consider that their leaders were no more guilty than Roosevelt and Churchill, and if one mentions Dachau, a word that used to send chills up and down their spines, they seem never to have heard of the place. Any plan for education or reëducation must have the support of these people, who seem to have formed a conspiracy against the memory of what they actually did, to such an extent that one might as well talk to statues. They do not want to believe that what they did was wrong and they will pay no attention to what we say or do to convince them that crimes were committed against all humanity. Dachau is now no worse to them than the bombing of Munich.

Washington, D. C. B. H.

Salaries, Wages and Depressions

SIR: In a recent editorial in your magazine, you said: "The dominant industrial and financial forces of this country have demonstrated in the past few weeks their complete economic illiteracy."

"Complete illiteracy" is right. Most big businessmen have not learned a single thing from the last depression. I send some samples of salaries of corporate officials in 1932, published by the Federal Trade Commission, and the employment and wages of those corporations from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Bureau adds employment and wages separately for 1933-4-5, divides the added sum by three, and takes the quotient as 100.

United States Steel

Myron C. Taylor	$197,203
J. A. Farrell	156,658
W. S. Gilbert	81,391

Bethlehem Steel

C. M. Schwab	$250,000
Eugene G. Grace	180,000
Quincy Bent	90,000
C. A. Buck	90,000
G. H. Blakely	81,555

Republic Steel

Tom Girdler	$117,187

Jones & Laughlin Steel

G. G. Crawford	$247,225

Full-time steel worker, average	$807.56
Jobless in 1932, employed in 1929	44.4 percent
Drop in payrolls from 1929 to 1932	71 percent

Machine-tool companies come next; but we take only one:

International Business Machines

Thomas J. Watson	$454,015

Full-time worker, average	$976.04
Jobless in 1932, employed in 1929	74.8 percent
Drop in payrolls from 1929 to 1932	84.7 percent

American Woolen Company

Moses Pendleton	$100,250

Full-time woolen worker, average	$799.52
Jobless in 1932, employed in 1929	32.2 percent
Drop in payrolls between 1929 and 1932	50.8 percent

Finally, take the tobacco industry:

American Tobacco Company

George Washington Hill	$825,607
C. F. Neiley	473,472
Vincent Reggio	473,422
J. E. Lipscomb	100,000

Full-time tobacco worker, average	$614.12
Jobless in 1932, employed in 1929	21.8 percent
Drop in payrolls from 1929 to 1932	41 percent

In other words, four officials in the American Tobacco Company, in the worst year of the bitterest depression yet known, got $1,872,501—more money than 3,058 of their workers. And a large fraction of tobacco workers are never employed full time.

The champions of Big Business are working hard to get this country into a boom, sure to be followed by a bust.

South Bend, Ind. GEORGE L. KNAPP

From The New Republic Mail Bag

"Over six thousand objectors to war and conscription have been imprisoned during the war just ended. Most of them are still in prison; others are out on restricted paroles or on conditional release. . . . These men, whether now in prison or outside, are legally felons and have forfeited many of their civil rights," says a pamphlet sent us by the Committee for Amnesty for All Objectors to War and Conscription, Room 1029, 5 Beekman Street, New York. The only way these men can have their rights restored to them is by presidential amnesty, and you are urged to write to President Truman and your congressmen urging such action. Further information may be obtained from the Committee.

A soldier writes from Camp Stoneman, California, that maintaining large occupation forces in the defeated countries is no guarantee against fascism in the future. He asks, "What can the troops say or do, as they watch collaborationist Roxas [in the Philippines] receive American support?"

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Books in Review

Mr. Burke's Dialectic

THE FASCINATIONS of philosophy began for me when a Harvard man told me about his wonderful professor. The course was History of Philosophy, and every week or so, said my informant, a new philosopher came up for notice. So brilliant were the elucidations of the professor that each philosopher was revealed as refuting his predecessor's system by showing how it had developed from certain unproved assumptions, then as going on to expound the perfect system—his own—which did not depend upon them. His triumph was short. The next week the professor would be exhibiting him as refuted by his successor on the ground of assumptions he himself made, though they were not the ones he had condemned. There was no stop in the sequence; philosophy seemed to run on forever, relative always to its initial assumptions, becoming sometimes more expert and technical but never final, never valid. And so it seemed presently to me, as I came to hear the lectures and make the readings in philosophy, and saw how a doctrine may logically be pushed back and back upon its grounds, in the order of their priority, till we come to the grounds which are not grounded but assumed. But the mature reader will imagine what a prig there was then, the superior young man with a sense of the universal relativism, rejecting all the doctrines; how effete, and lacking in common vitality. To be human is to risk assumptions and take decisions.

Kenneth Burke in his writings has not been identifiable with such a young man luxuriating in his disenchantment, nor yet with such a weary professor still inciting the young men to embrace a kind of freedom which, if they could not qualify it, would be like death. Of all our critics Burke is philosophically the subtlest, temperamentally the most ironical. The irony precludes a notable human warmth, and the cool tone repels weak readers as much as the speed and range of the dialectical shifts. Nevertheless if we can read we must acknowledge beneath Burke's sophistication a very real commitment: he is liberal if fastidious in his politics, and elsewhere, and over all, he is a modern humanist.

The new book[1] is his biggest, like an end-work which assimilates to a new perspective the fragments of one's earlier writings. Burke has a "grammar" in the Aristotelian sense of a set of verbal terms, or categories, or parts of speech, by means of which a discourse can be analyzed, or for that matter performed in the first place. The humanistic bias enters in his choice of categories. Burke's grammar is "dramatistic." Drama occurs for him when the turn of events is as in a play, with purposive acts which are more than the "motions" of science, and moral agents which are more than the "bodies." The dramatistic categories for Burke are five, and constitute his "pentad": Act, Scene, Agent, Agency, Purpose. Soon it occurs to the reader, and is remarked by Burke himself, that the pentad performs pretty much the same work as a certain famous tetrad, which would consist in the Four Causes that Aristotle proposed to distinguish within a turn of events: Material, Efficient, Formal, and Final Causes. Final Cause is Motive; it attributes intelligence to the agent, and humanizes the situation.

Now it is one thing to apply the full pentad, or tetrad, to a situation in which a human being is the cause, and to say that science in reporting the situation in terms of motions and chemico-physical objects misses the factor which is most distinctive. But what if the turn of events is a "natural" one in which no human being participates? Both Aristotle and Burke are ambiguous about this. There are times when they accept the account of science, but there are also times when they take the high ground of philosophical tradition, and the grand manner, and assume the rational or purposive agent. It is a metaphysical assumption. Or, if that is not the name of a real motive, it is a religious assumption. Burke writes frequently as if the natural world were operated universally according to common reason, with operators of the same "familial substance" as rational man; and scarcely has the heart to reproach Plato for the seductive doctrine that the ideas of reason are the father-causes and progenitors of the natural phenomena. But this is to offer on his part the same confusion that he expressly rebukes at one place, where he observes a philosophical pun on the word "prior," leading some thinkers to transform logical priority into temporal priority. It is a charming confusion, and made in a good cause, but still I think the good cause cannot demand confusion, especially from writers with philosophical rather than popular status.

Burke refers disparagingly to a habit of mind which he calls "scientism." And what is that? Science will find chemical and mechanical relations between two objects, and these are rational relations in the sense that the reason of the scientist understands them, but not in the sense that there is rational consciousness in the objects. It would be interesting to see what would become of an Aristotelian ideology if we substituted a category of Human Value for the category of Final Cause. It would put the Aristotelian into the way of some modern pragmatism, where his turn for speculation would undoubtedly suffer some constriction; and I believe that his religious and artistic concerns could not yet find their accounting there. At a thousand points this philosophy reports the technology of natural process as useful to the human species without reporting it as useful by intention. But if this is scientism, it is doubtless the one imperative rule which will promote scientific achievements as we know them. I do not mean to say that Burke thinks otherwise, or that it lies in me to inform him of what he does not know. But he might have found for several modern enterprises a more reputable activity than he seems to concede.

Logical positivism, for instance. This involves the study of human discourse in the syntactical dimension only. What-

[1] **A Grammar of Motives, by Kenneth Burke. New York: Prentice-Hall. 530 pages. $5.**

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ever meanings are assigned to the terms, they must not be altered. But the terms need not refer to the actual world, and the conclusions need have no practical applications. We might insist that discourse on these conditions is wanting in ordinary motivation, and could not become standard procedure; logical positivists are scarcely authorized to expel the pragmatical implications of discourse. Nevertheless what they contribute to the theory of syntax is valuable for the perfection of any discourse, and most valuable when the pragmatic urgency is greatest and most blinding. And in this way we convert the logical positivists to a human point of view in spite of themselves.

Or take operationalism, Professor Bridgman's rule by which a term is defined as "what it does" within the given discourse. I suppose this means that a scientific term is rigidly held to its functional or technical status, and not allowed to acquire substantiality. Again the question of human concern seems to be waived, but we need not worry. If the result to which the term contributes is not to be picked up and employed within the human economy, there has been a waste of effort, but the operation could hardly have had that intention, and will not be repeated.

And take behaviorism, which undertakes to express a "psychosis" in terms of a "neurosis." Surely it is desirable to carry this project as far as possible. How otherwise will a patient who is warned of his disorder by conscious symptoms obtain the full advantage of materia medica? But on the other hand he may have to obtain his help from psychiatry, unless he is young and obtains it from the psychical "conditioning" process which is accomplished by parents, or an educational establishment. There seems little possibility that either of these normative agencies can be superseded by the other, or that the psycho-physical parallelism can be practically resolved into a monism of either sort. Behaviorists may be boastful, but they are scarcely the enemies of society; probably not theirs nor any other technology can impose itself seriously upon us irrespective of the human value of its performance.

Burke's book is rich in exciting dialectical episodes. I have the feeling that they are there in their aggregate, rather than systematically or serially as they are, for example, in Hegel. Burke is most fertile when he considers the back-and-forth of emphasis which occurs in working a single pair of categories. Thus there is a proper Scene-Act "ratio"; but, if we start with a Scene which is overdetermined on its side, it will dehumanize the Act on the other side; and many consequences have flowed from this principle, both on the stage and in the history of ideas. But in confining himself to a pair at a time among the five categories, Burke is Hegelian, for Hegel's Logic, more than drama, is the classical locus for the dialectic of the pairings. In general, the pentad is not so dramatic in practice as its derivation promised. More often than not, the situation examined is not felt as drama; enactment upon a stage is not imaginable. Why then Burke's dramatism? I think he may have been affected by knowing that the word *drama* meant simply, in its origin, the *doing* of a human agent, and so based his categories upon a Greek and predramatic sense rather than upon our sense of drama as a rounded action upon a stage.

At any rate it seems to be the testimony of history that many events are not suited to drama, for they have gone into fiction. Still other events must not be suited to fiction, for they have gone into poetry. All the time, and everywhere, there is a multitude of events not much suited to any of these arts because they are peculiarly suited to science. And if science does well in not aspiring to be poetry, it does well also in not aspiring to be drama. Perhaps the same thing may be said for philosophy.

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Franz Werfel's Open Secret

Poems, by Franz Werfel. Translated by Edith Abercrombie Snow. Princeton: The Princeton University Press. 119 pages. $2.

ANOTHER poet of exile? Franz Werfel's exile began in 1890 when he was born. The womb was the only home he ever knew. Living from the fall of Bismarck to the fall of Hitler, he found himself an onlooker and a victim in a world not made for poets. As an artist Werfel rejected this world and went into exile; as an economic man with a living to earn, as a natural man with an ego, he accepted it and sought its approval. Contradictory behavior? Perhaps: but by persuading the world to accept the denunciations of it which were his professional stock-in-trade, he tried to find a synthesis and a solution. By declaring his disrespect for the world he would get it to respect him. From the preaching of poverty and humility would flow money and fame. Hence *The Song of Bernadette.*

Then the career of Werfel was an exile's return? He trod the familiar primrose path of modern artists from

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obscurity to Hollywood, from integrity to charlatanism? That certainly would be our impression—but for his poems. In them we discover a man much less at home in Hollywood than Scott Fitzgerald, a man much less happy in his celebrity than Ernest Hemingway. The poems are—among other things—Werfel's confession. They are as candid, simple and pure as his popular novels are disingenuous, tortured and meretricious. I shall therefore mention a few items in the confession, quoting the translations which face the text in this Princeton edition for the benefit of readers with no German. They are careful and discreet translations, though, inevitably, the poetry of the original is lost.

In a prayer Werfel tells God that he has within him "an enemy, who after the meal smokes his cigar and grows fat. . . . I have an enemy, my Father, who distorts my noble speech into prattle and self-deceit./I have an enemy who forces my conscience to cringe and fawn. . . ." Obviously Werfel had no illusions about his own life. In public a man can pretend to be false to himself. But in private a man as sensitive and earnest as Werfel simply cannot keep it up. Fundamentally, the artistic impulse is the impulse to record the truth as you see it, in the medium best suited to your personality. Werfel was a born artist, and his natural medium was verse. So it is that in his poems Werfel blurts out the truth that is so well wrapped-up in the hokum of his prose works. Every Hyde has his Jekyll.

The image of double personality, associated with guilt, recurs throughout his verse. It is not enough to put down this recurring antithesis to the influence of Expressionism. The *Sein-Ich* and *Schein-Ich*—real self and reflected self—of his early play "Mirror Man" are Werfel and his own second self. The poems, written by Jekyll, are informed with anxiety about Hyde. "Why," he asks God, "did'st Thou create me with this enemy, my Father, why did'st fashion me to this duality?" There follows a remarkable flood of eloquence:

> How blessed are the simple-hearted, the unknowing, blessed the simple good, blessed the simple bad,
> But cursed the divided ones, the two-faced, the waxing and waning antagonists!

Battered by his two conflicting souls, Werfel wishes he could be all good like God—or all bad like the Devil. Rather than take up the burden of Faust he will take on the role of Mephistopheles. Such is the quest of the absolute in our time.

"I am myself," Werfel himself said, "only in my poetry." In fact the poems are all an ardent effort to find *den Schimmer Wahrheit in mir selbst*—"the gleam of truth within myself." He searches every cranny for this gleam: his childhood, his love of the mother, his love of nature, his defeated ambition, his sickness, his sleepless nights, his intimations of encroaching death, his nausea, his vision of radiant goodness, above all his exile and his longing for home. Two poems—"Das Bleibende" and "Tempora Mea in Manibus Tuis"—give us the quintessential Werfel. In the first he wishes he were a Slovakian embroideress, a Bavarian woodcarver or a Ligurian fisherman, because "in my breast/Stirs the permanence you manifest." As things are: "I myself, without folk, without land,/Now bury my face in my hand," which in his beautifully modulated German is:

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Ihr, Völker der Erde, mich rührt
Das Bleibende, das ihr vollführt.
Ich selbst, ohne Volk ohne Land,
Stütz nun meine Stirn in die Hand.

In the other poem Werfel asks himself whether he belongs to his own folk *("die Meinen")* or to his nation *("Volk")* and decides that he belongs to neither. Can he follow an older German poet, we wonder, in his belief that *der Starke ist am mächtigsten allein*—"the strong man is mightiest alone"? By no means. Self-hatred is the first principle of modern anti-modernity. "Who is myself? A gloomy flesh and bone/Whose flickering lamp with light of death is blown." If not to the nation, the family, or to himself, to whom *can* he belong? Obviously if God does not exist it is at this point that we have to invent him. "I am His own":

Wem angehör ich also? Ich bin sein
Denn Sein ist sein, und schmieg mich, nun ich wein',
In seine offne Vaterhand hinein.

We learn more from this than from all the essays and apothegms of Werfel's philosophical work, *Between Heaven and Earth.*

Franz Werfel's poems, even the small selection that I am reviewing, contain much more than I have described, and much more than I *could* describe. If they are not quite major poetry, they are in their way as good as anything in German poetry since the generation of George and Rilke. Not that they were all written since 1933. The present selection ranges over the whole of Werfel's career, and the few poems concerning the Hitler epoch form a melancholy epilogue. The bulk of the poems belong in spirit if not in fact to the Expressionist generation, and if I had to classify Werfel I would call him an unreconstructed Expressionist. Not even Catholicism could canalize Werfel's longing to rejoin the group, to reënter the womb, as successfully as the Expressionist merging of the individual with nature and with mankind: "My only wish is to be related to thee, O man!" he says, and again: "Only grant that I may weep. . . ./That I be dissolved by feeling." Moreover, it is the beauty of nature that Werfel offers as the proof of God: "And the willow's mother-heavy arc/Thrills through me as purest proof of God."

Was even his Catholicism heretical? Werfel, so far as I know, never was received into the Church at all. The image of a little Jewish boy wistfully lingering in Gothic doorways will serve to characterize his hankerings after orthodoxy. He stood outside the citadel of European tradition, or so he felt, and the Pope was inside—who more so? He cried for the moon—and the Pope was the man in the moon.

That is clear. What is more easily overlooked is that when the man in the moon beckoned, when the doors of the citadel opened, Franz Werfel was not to be found. Can it be that he himself did not altogether believe in the miracle of Bernadette Soubirous? ERIC BENTLEY

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The Booker T.

All Brave Sailors: The Story of the S. S. Booker T. Washington, by John Beecher. New York: L. B. Fischer. 208 pages. $2.50.

ALL BRAVE SAILORS is a war chronicle of the *S. S. Booker T. Washington,* a kind of personal log kept in terms of the climate of democracy that John Beecher found aboard the ship. The *Booker T. Washington* was the first American vessel commissioned under a Negro master; her crew consisted of veterans of the Spanish civil war and the labor movement, old seamen, ship's officers who had long been Jim Crowed out of their professions, and civilians and refugees sent to sea by the war. And in terms of racial background her crew list reads like the catalogue of American types found in "Ballad for Americans"—some, like Beecher, being white Southerners.

One of the more interesting war books, *All Brave Sailors* consists of brief profiles of Captain Hugh Mulzac and his crew, accounts of the ship's NMU local in action, descriptions of the crew's reaction to Army Jim Crow policy in foreign ports, and anecdotes of the seamen's adventures and friendships with anti-fascist groups in the war zones. Being a poet as well as the *Booker T. Washington's* purser, Beecher saw the ship (named rather ambiguously after a Negro educator who believed that Negroes and whites should be kept "separate as the fingers of the hand") as a symbol of a type of democracy in which value rests not upon skin color but upon human quality, intelligence and ability, and where black and white men worked and played together in harmony. On this level his book is a recommendation that such a democratic integration be effected throughout our social structure.

Beecher is impressed by that warmth of human relationships so often noted by writers when they venture during times of war among soldiers, sailors and airmen, or in times

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of peace, among the peoples of pre-industrial societies in which relationships are based not upon an abstract market as in capitalist societies, but upon a more direct and less complex awareness of social necessity. Thus, for Beecher, the *Booker T. Washington* becomes a concrete floating symbol of tranquil interracial brotherhood, crossing the seas on duty in a war of racial strife, but remaining within itself undisturbed. Here the racial storms which psychiatrists and sociologists find in the hearts of all Americans have been replaced by the warm trade winds of trade unionism.

The result is a heartwarming but somewhat sentimentalized picture which when related back to life, whether in terms of the relationships of seamen or trade-unionists, we find omitting even that normal interracial conflict which at this stage of historical development is the dynamic health of American democratic institutions. Despite their high political consciousness, for a mixed group of Americans a-sail on the rough seas of our race relations, Beecher's seamen encountered an embarrassment of fine weather.

What we have in *All Brave Sailors* is the possibility of racial equality minus the process: the democratic dream presented in terms of a Liberty ship. But ships, unfortunately, are ships and states are states, and neither can be the other. And while the NMU has a most encouraging record for chasing Jim Crow off its boats, the CIO has yet to evolve a plan for chasing a Bilbo off the bridge of our "ship of state."

Actually the section of *All Brave Sailors* which is most exciting and of really lasting value is that in which Beecher sketches the history of his family. He is a descendant of the family noted for its orators, theologians and college founders, for its Abolitionists and for Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. From the Revolution to Reconstruction the Beecher family was one in which the broad, vital concept of democracy that marked the early phase of our history burned most intensely. Among those Americans whose ethical assaults against slavery made possible our industrial society, it is representative; and in its history, with the precision of a well made play, might be seen that ironic transvaluation which attended the secularization of our culture: Beecher's father, the heir of theologians and Abolitionists, became a businessman, who, in following the economic tides unleashed by industrialization, came to harbor in Alabama—where his son was to absorb the mores and attitudes which it had been his forefathers' most intense passion to destroy. Now, eighty years later, after working his way painfully through the distorted values of the South via jobs in steel mills and such New Deal agencies as the FEPC, Beecher has rediscovered the fighting tradition of his fathers. In these brief pages of *All Brave Sailors* he has given us the outline of a really important autobiography, one which should add much to our knowledge of why our society became what it is.

RALPH ELLISON

Flash! *Book Values:* World of Washington Irving, *Van Wyck Brooks,* $1.50; Seas of God, *ed. Whit Burnett,* $1.50; Cross and the Arrow, *A. Maltz,* $1.00; Leaf in the Storm, *L. Yutang,* $1.00 Vigil of a Nation, *L. Yutang,* $1.00; China To Me, *Emily Hahn,* $1.50; Cuckoo Time, *R. Temple,* $1.25; Gravediggers of France, *Pertinex,* $1.50; Anna and the King of Siam, *Landon,* $1.50; The Last Frontier, *H. Fast,* $.50 . . . Downtown Book Bazaar, 212 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

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FOUNDATIONS OF NATIONAL POWER, edited by Harold and Margaret Sprout (Princeton, $4.25). The 774 pages of this volume are not, as the subtitle modestly says, "readings on world politics and American security," but a veritable encyclopedia of basic facts on subjects too numerous to list here, and written by a group of distinguished authors equally long. By "basic facts" are meant those fundamental geographical, historical, economic and political factors which remain constant in the everchanging configuration of world politics, but which are indispensable to an understanding of the contemporary pattern. Perhaps too much emphasis has been laid by the editors on the super-powers, America, Great Britain and the USSR, to the neglect of Western, Central and Southeastern Europe where new political trends are visible and new political forces are stirring which may decisively influence the world picture. This may be due to the fact that the volume is the product of experience gained in a course on world affairs given in connection with the Navy V-12 program at six universities during the war when, indeed, continental Europe played a comparatively minor role in the international struggle for power. In spite of this shortcoming, however, the volume is a useful handbook on the subject.

CONTRIBUTORS

THEODORE ROETHKE, a member of the English department at Bennington College, is the author of *Open House and Other Poems,* published by Knopf. He held a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1945.

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ERIC BENTLEY's most recent book, *The Playwright as Thinker,* will be published this spring by Reynal and Hitchcock. He is an assistant professor of English at the University of Minnesota.

RALPH ELLISON, now in the merchant marine, was an editor of the *Negro Quarterly.* Fiction and critical articles by him have appeared in *New Masses, Tomorrow, Common Ground* and *Direction.* Mr. Ellison held a Rosenwald Fellowship for creative writing last year.

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